

The MS published here was commissioned from the scribe Ken'an, the son of Denho and Š'mūnī, of Fofyat (Kafarbe), also called Kenan Budak. He completed it on 31st October, 1986, in the little cell above the church of Mōr Sṯefanos, which he occupied as the last Christian teacher in his village. It was a sad irony for him to copy reports of the vitality and community-spirit which had kept the village of Bēṯ Svīrīna Christian throughout long centuries of Muslim rule, at the very time when his own position became untenable because of the flight of Christian families from Kafarbe. His fee for copying out this MS was paid by the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, Bonn, as a supplement to my own research-grant; he used the money to emigrate. He is now a candidate for refugee-status at Bebra in West Germany, where his fate and that of his family is still undecided. He is one of the dedicatees of this book. I hope that the *Book of Life* itself will be a reminder to European readers that the Old-Syrians are among us now and an inspiration to the clergy and the laymen of the Syrian Orthodox Church in the Middle East and in Europe in their search for more effective means of social cohesion and for a new definition of group-identity. I take this opportunity to thank Bishop Philoxenos Yusuf Çetin of Istanbul for collecting the MS from Kafarbe and bringing it to Istanbul, where my colleague, Hero Hokwerda, received it in trust for me in 1988, paying what remained of the scribe's fee to the Bishop in trust for Ken'an.

The MS from which Ken'an copied belongs to Qartmīn Abbey. It was penned by George of Kafarze, priest of Mōrbobo, in 1959. Its page-numbers are noted here in the margin of the text. They are called "fol." and numbered in roman numerals to distinguish them from the page-numbers. *Monk and Mason*, which was completed before I received Ken'an's MS, uses "p." and arabic numerals for the pages of the Qartmīn MS; simply convert e.g. "p. 6" to "fol. VI" to find the correct reference. Ken'an copied everything in the Qartmīn MS, except reports entered after 1959 (such as that quoted in *Monk and Mason*, p. 131 n. 117). He copied at the end a list of the bishops of Midyat, based on the "History" by Mōr Severus Ephrem, metropolitan of Syria and the Lebanon. This "History", which is dated to 1924, and its author seem to be unknown to Baršawm (1943) and to Macuch (1976). The bishop-list is continued up to the present incumbent, Mōr Timothy Samuel Aktaş, who is praised for his efforts to prevent the emigration of Christians from Ṭūr 'Abdīn. It is not clear whether the Qartmīn MS contains this list of bishops. Ken'an's note, saying that this MS was copied from that of George in the library of Qartmīn Abbey, follows directly on the list; yet after the beginning of the list, no more "folio"-numbers are noted in the margin. Moreover, the list follows the colophon of George himself. Probably the list was compiled in the Qartmīn MS after its completion, on blank folia at the end which were left unnumbered.

George used a lost pencil-written copy made by Bishop Iwānīs Ephrem Bilgiç, of Bote. This bishop had transcribed the text from a MS in the Patriarchate at Homs in 1957. From the Preface of our text, translated under E.5., below, we learn that this MS had 74 pages (pīōhīn) and had "belonged to" (ṯāwhī hwo l-) the village of Bēṯ Svīrīna, before entering the patriarchal library. Bishop Iwānīs did not see or could not find a

date of compilation. He did, however, notice that "some of the inner pages were lost here and there" (see E.5: Preface with No. 51).

The MS which is in the patriarchal library, according to the catalogue in Behnām (1959, p. 147), has the shelf-mark 5/59, i.e. it is classified as a liturgical book. It was proper to Basībrīna (Bēṯ Svīrīna); of dimensions 18 x 25 cm; "written" (katabahū) in AG 1331 = AD 1019/20 by the priested monk Solomon of Bēṯ Svīrīna (cf. E.5, No. 1); renovated in AG 1480 = AD 1168/9 (cf. No. 4); not in order as to folia; and brought from Midyat.

Baršawm (1943, p. 95; Syriac, pp. 132-3) says that the MS of the *Book of Life* in the patriarchal library was copied from a short MS in Mossul dated 1925. This probably refers to the MS just described, the eleventh-century "writer" being distinguished from the twentieth-century scribe. For in a cumulative record brevity is consistent with an earlier date of redaction. Baršawm also relates that he saw a MS of the *Book of Life* in 1909 at Bēṯ Svīrīna, which was written "for the monastery of Qartmīn" in 1499 and that it had 140 pages and contained passages of historical interest up to the mid-eighteenth century. Neither this nor the Qartmīn MS could be described as brief.

Pognon (1907, p. 49) saw a related MS in Midyat in 1905. It belonged to "the monastery of Bēṯ Svīrīna", but he considered it a copy of one of the registers which used to be kept in the archives of Qartmīn Abbey. It was in very bad condition. The contents included some reports on Qartmīn Abbey and, above all, a large number of lists of priests and monks of varying date, and of women and men who had helped or enriched the monastery. One of the reports was that translated as No. 2 under E.5., below. Pognon quotes and translates a part of it, leaving three words in doubt, because of the poor condition of the MS.

Baršawm (1964, p. 11) describes one of his sources as "the *Book of Life* of the monastery of Qartmīn, which goes up to AD 1496 and contains many names of bishops and priests and well-known monks of the Mountain (sc. Ṭūr 'Abdīn) with the years of their deaths and certain historical narratives". He adds that it was presented to the patriarchal library by Chorepiscopus Nu'man of Kafarze. This is presumably Nu'man Aydin, whose portrait appears in the same book with the date 1949. On pp. 91-6 of the same book are published extracts from the *Book of Life* corresponding to Nos. 2 (pp. 91-2), 1 (pp. 92-3), 5 (pp. 93-4), 8 (pp. 94-5), 32 and 33 (p. 96), as translated below. The passage corresponding to the extract at the bottom of p. 95 is not translated here. On pp. 120-3 Baršawm quotes a passage corresponding to No. 3 below; but the entries below it on pp. 123 and 124 do not occur in our text.

Dolabani (1959, pp. 174-6) also quotes a text resembling our No. 3, but in paraphrase; somewhat more literal is his quotation of parts of our Nos. 4 and 17 on pp. 177-8 and of our No. 5 on pp. 180-1. On pp. 181-7 we recognize, amongst other material, traces of our Nos. 7, 8, 46, 11 and 17. The chapter on famous fifteenth-century scribes (pp. 188-93) includes material from our text, and in the next chapter (pp. 193-6) we find our Nos. 18 and 24 on Bishop George. The chapter on Rabban Stephen of Bēṯ Svīrīna, George's disciple and successor (pp. 197-9) contains our Nos. 33 and 32 in that order. Other material on these pages and on pp. 202-7 looks as if it comes from a similar *Book of Life*.

How many different MSS of our *Book of Life* can be distinguished? Connolly and Codrington (1913) edited from two MSS in the Lebanon (Šarfa) and in the Vatican a ten-folio *Book of Life* written in 1648 for a church in Aleppo. This text commemorates the heroes of the *Qartmīn Trilogy* and Simeon of the Olives, saints especially honoured in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. Nevertheless it is related neither to our text nor to Damascus 5/59. Of the *Book of Life* at Bartelli (Baršawm 1943, p. 95; Syriac, p. 133) nothing further is known. Mingana 172 might be a copy of the *Book of Life* of Aleppo: it contains many "saints from the Old and New Testaments", but only 12 folia 23 x 16.5cm with 20 lines to a page; the (19th-century?) scribe was called ʿAzar (fol. 12b).

Leaving these MSS aside, we can identify:

- 1) the Ḥomš MS, which is the direct ancestor of our text;
- 2) Damascus 5/59, copied, according to Baršawm, from (3);
- 3) a short MS of 1925 in Mossul;
- 4) the MS which was at Beṭ Svīrīnā in 1909;
- 5) the MS which Pogon saw at Midyāt in 1905;
- 6) the MS used by Baršawm (1964), which came from Midyāt.

The text (part of H, No. 2) which was copied by Pogon from (5) closely resembles Baršawm's version of the same passage as he found it in (6). It even recognizes a doubtful reading in one place which Baršawm also marks as uncertain. The MS published here, which is derived at three removes from (1), omits from the same passage another word which Pogon could not read, although Baršawm saw *qimele*, "treasures". These facts may indicate that (1), (5) and (6) are one and the same MS. The description of (2) does not tally with these three, especially if it was copied from (3). If, when the catalogue was made, (6) was not yet in the possession of the Patriarchate, it must have been presented to the Patriarch after the publication of Baršawm (1943) and before 1957, when it was copied in Ḥomš. Baršawm (1964) acknowledges the gift and portrays the giver as he was in the year 1949. Perhaps the photograph is contemporary with the presentation. (4), "dated 1499", must be distinguished from (6), "dated 1496" and from (1), which had about half as many pages and was intended for Beṭ Svīrīnā. If (4) was intended, as Baršawm says, for Qartmīn Abbey, its extra bulk may have contained material peculiar to the abbey which was excluded from the Beṭ Svīrīnā version.

On this hypothesis the relevant passage in Baršawm (1943) cannot have been revised for the reprints. That is not unusual. But there are two difficulties: firstly, (1) "belonged" to Beṭ Svīrīnā, while (6) was designated, according to Baršawm, for Qartmīn and came from Midyāt; secondly, Bishop Iwāns Ephrem saw no date of compilation in (1), while Baršawm tells us that (6) went "up to 1496". To this may be answered that the date seen by Baršawm may now be lost through damage to the MS, while (1), as represented in the text published here, contains notices composed at Qartmīn Abbey as well as evidence that it was proper to Beṭ Svīrīnā (see E.2). Pogon (1907) himself connects (5) with Qartmīn and states that it came from "the monastery of Beṭ Svīrīnā", a confusion probably due to seeing the phrase "this monastery" (i.e. Qartmīn Abbey) juxtaposed to some evidence of Svirinite origin.

Let us summarize our working hypothesis: Three main versions of the *Book of Life* can be identified at this stage of research, the one which acquired its definitive form in

the eleventh century, and two others which were made in 1496 and 1499 respectively, for Beṭ Svīrīnā and for Qartmīn Abbey. Both of these incorporated matter from the eleventh century version, while adding much from the subsequent period; the Qartmīn version was much more bulky and so may have contained more of the earlier text, which was considered superfluous for Beṭ Svīrīnā. There seems little chance of finding the 1499 Qartmīn version, which was last recorded in Beṭ Svīrīnā in 1909; it may have been destroyed in the war, like the *Book of Life* of Zāz, though in that case Baršawm (1943) would probably have said so. If the the eleventh-century version can be found in MSS at Mossul and Damascus, much new light may be cast on the development of the text. The present publication is not a critical edition of the text; for that we should use the MSS from which it is derived, insofar as we can find them. It will be seen that the hypothesis of three versions fits well with the internal evidence of the text published here.



Fig. 5: THE VILLAGE OF BETH SVIRINA IN ṬUR ʿABDIN

Our MS contains a number of clues as to the history of the text.

Of the 40 dated entries, eight are dated between 1039 and 1395, 25 between 1420 and 1502, six between 1723 and 1795, and one in 1852/3.

Of the first eight entries the third and the seventh concern Bēṭ Svīrīnā above all, and Qartmīn Abbey only in a lesser degree; the other six were clearly written at the abbey.

The next group, Nos. 9-33 in my translation, fall into five categories:

1. Those definitely written at the abbey (Nos. 11 and 28)
2. Those written at Bēṭ Svīrīnā (Nos. 9, 10, 12-15, 21, 22, 26, 27 and, probably, Nos. 30 and 31)
3. Those concerning both the abbey and Bēṭ Svīrīnā (Nos. 17, 18, 24, 32 and 33)
4. Those concerning bishops from the village of Arbō (Nos. 16, 19, 20 and 25)
5. Those concerning the village of Fōfyat, close to the abbey on the way to Bēṭ Svīrīnā (Nos. 23 and 29).

We may leave the fourth and fifth categories out for the present; Arbō and Fōfyat are not serious candidates for the "home" of our text. The third category cannot help to trace it to either the abbey or the village. As for the first and second categories, logic dictates one of two explanations. There was one codex, which travelled back and forth between the village and the abbey; or else there were codices at both places, which developed independently, until they were amalgamated. The latter explanation is preferable.

The last 7 dated entries are attributable as follows:

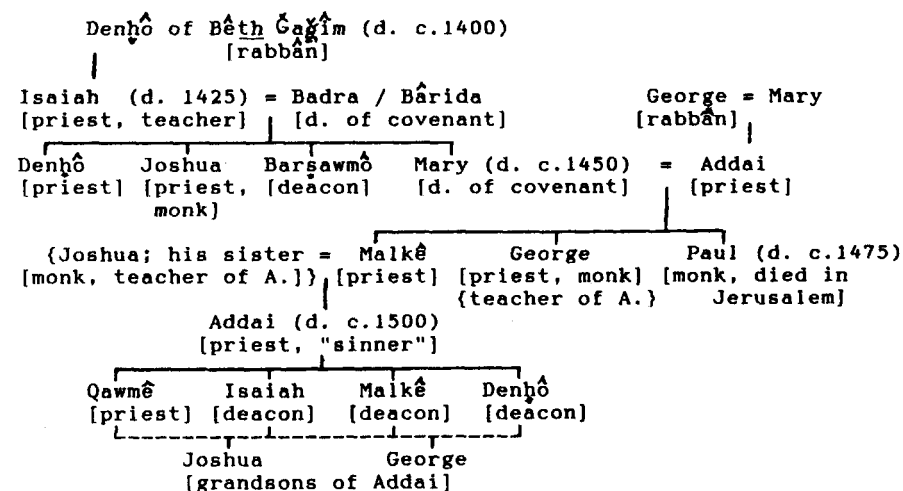
- No. 34 Uncertain
 No. 35 Qartmīn Abbey and Bēṭ Svīrīnā
 No. 36 "Our village"
 No. 37 Bēṭ Svīrīnā and an unnamed episcopal see
 No. 38 Uncertain, perhaps Bēṭ Svīrīnā
 No. 39 Bēṭ Svīrīnā
 No. 40 Qartmīn Abbey

Just as Damascus 5/59 had its leaves "not in order", so our MS, too, has had a chaotic transmission; we must abandon any attempt to find traces of an analytical or a mechanical process of amalgamation, unless codicology can help.

Perhaps the only sequence in the whole MS is where Nos. 11, 16, 19, 20 and 25 occur together in that order on fol. CXXI, p. 202. These are all bishops and the last four are all from Arbō. Perhaps these are some of the bishops of the young diocese of Bēṭ Riše,

based in the monastery of Mōr Malke near Arkah, which had a strong association with that village and with H̄vōv and Arbō (see Fiey 1982, p. 273) ? There is no overlap with the other bishops recorded by Baršawm (1964). Baršawm tells us that bishops continued to be consecrated for Bēṭ Riše into the early twentieth century (Fiey 1982, p. 274). The fact that the list breaks off with a bishop who died in 1492 may therefore be significant, when we consider that two of the MS traditions have been traced to 1496 and 1499 respectively. We may have here a trace of the process of amalgamation.

The MS mentions one man to whom this editorial process might be attributed. No. 47 asks for the reader's prayers for a certain Addai, "who penned this volume of the Book of Life". This note seems to be related to No. 45, which associates a whole kin-group, including "the priest Addai", whose grandfather and probably great-grandfather were also priests and Addais, with the financing and execution of a copy of "this book full of life". Enough members of this same kin-group recur in Nos. 9, 10 (probably), 12, 13, 14, on fol. XLV, (pp. 73-4) and on foll. LXXVII-LXXVIII (pp. 126-7) to enable us to draw an extensive, highly clerical, family tree. Since twenty-five years has been shown to be the average for a generation in non-industrial societies, we may extrapolate from the date given in Nos. 12 and 13 for the death of the teacher Isaiah and date to about 1500 the death of the younger priest Addai, who identifies himself with the label "a sinner" in No. 13, and around whose person the whole family tree is constructed.



The Title of our MS, translated under H, below, shows an awareness of at least one other channel of transmission, besides that of Bēṭ Svīrīnā. The MS seen by Barṣawm in Bēṭ Svīrīnā was designated for Qartmīn Abbey. Probably Addai made two copies of the amalgamated *Book of Life*, one in 1496 for Bēṭ Svīrīnā, and one in 1499, for Qartmīn Abbey. After that the history of their transmission diverged again.

The relationship between the abbey and the village, and between both and Fōfyāṭ, the village in-between, had been a close one for many centuries. (In what follows I refer to the pages of *Monk and Mason*.) Even if we dismiss as legendary the story that Aḥsnōyō, Philoxenos of Mabbūg, resided as a teenager in a hermit's cell near Bēṭ Svīrīnā, before going to school at Qartmīn Abbey (p. 114 n. 5), it is still evidence of a bond between the two places in the twelfth century, when the legend was written down.

The colophon of *L. Simeon of the Olives* seems to indicate that the monastery at Bēṭ Man'ēm, near Bēṭ Svīrīnā, was a dependency of the abbey in the eighth century (p. 162). An early twelfth-century inscription brings the two villages together with the abbey in the context of the succession of bishops, whereby Bēṭ Man'ēm seems to have been more important at an earlier date, then to have waned while Bēṭ Svīrīnā waxed (pp. 224-5; cf. H.2). Not only the famous calligraphic bishop, John, and his gifted nephews came from Bēṭ Svīrīnā around AD 1000 (pp. 221 and 224), but also two of the persons mentioned in H.1, were natives of that village. Indeed, as we have seen, it was Solomon of Bēṭ Svīrīnā who made the first known redaction of the *Book of Life*, and it was another Svirinite, Gabriel, who restored it in the following century (p. 161; cf. H.4).

Whatever may be Dōlabān's evidence (1959, pp. 166-7) for Svirinite authorship of *Chr. Qartmīn 819* (*Monk and Mason*, p. 13), there can be no doubt that the MS of that chronicle was in Bēṭ Svīrīnā from 1095 onwards (*Chr. Qartmīn 819*, p. 10).

Most significant is the contrast between *Book of Life* No. 3 and No. 32. In the first, dated 1166/7, the Svirinites are dependent on the abbey; in the second, dated 1501/2, the abbey is clearly dependent on the village. It may be that the two sackings of 1296 (No. 5) and 1395 (No. 8) reduced the abbey to a dependent relationship (cf. *Monk and Mason*, p. 226).

The integrity of the *Book of Life* of Qartmīn Abbey was zealously guarded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Nos. 1, 2 and 4). But the absence of a reference to the fate of this book in the accounts of the later sackings may indicate that it was by then considered less important. Connolly (1912) shows that the *Book of Life* was still read in church at the time of Moses bar Kīfō, in the ninth century, but was obsolete by the twelfth century, when Dionysius bar Ṣaltī wrote.

On the other hand, in H.17, of the mid-fifteenth century, the *Book of Life* is treated as something with a lively function, analogous to, if not synonymous with liturgical commemoration. This function is well expressed in the Prayer translated after the Preface under H, below. Elsewhere in the book a parallel is drawn between the earthly and the heavenly books of life (cf. for example, Psalm 69:28, "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous.") Incidentally, there is no

way of telling whether the Syriac *sfar ḥayē* should be translated "book of the living", as in the psalm, or "book of life", as in Phil. 4:3 ("my fellow labourers, whose names are in the book of life").

The *Book of Life*, as Barṣawm remarks (1943, p. 94) corresponds to the Greek "diptychs". (Fiey 1982 refers to our text as "les diptyques de Ba Sabrīnā".) *L. John of Tella*, p. 55, relates how John called for the diptychs of the cathedral in Tella and ordered that the name of the Chalcedonian Sophronius be erased from them; on p. 56 we read: "It is fitting that the names of those who have acted according to the words and the deeds which I have rehearsed in front of you should be proclaimed over the holy altars." Compare Rev. 22:19: "And if any man shall take away from the words of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life and out of the holy city."

The germ of the impulse to keep such a book can be seen in *Qartmīn Trilogy*, XLII.19-XLIII.1: "May Christ not cheat you of the reward for your labour and may that which you have brought - a gift of money - be recorded in the book of life before God!" It was natural to reinforce such a pious wish with a pious and quasi-sacramental action, and to play out in the sacred theatre of the sanctuary the scenario of the Apocalypse, with the assurance that the names of one's own kin are already included in the book of the living.

Addai and his kin invested time and money in the *Book of Life*; yet they were surely not the first to show an interest in it since the time of Bar Kīfō. Dated entries become frequent from the early fifteenth century onwards - seven from Qartmīn between 1422 and 1497, twelve from Bēṭ Svīrīnā between 1420 and 1502. It looks like a revival. And the first signs of the revival coincide with the maturity of the man whom Addai took as his model, the priest and teacher Isaiah (d. 1425). Like Barṣawm, he may have seen in "this lovely book" a means of strengthening the village community and the church itself, that community's chief organ of vitality and survival. I suggest that he reintroduced its use at Bēṭ Svīrīnā and at Qartmīn Abbey in the original liturgical context; and that it continued in use there at least until the beginning of the sixteenth century.

To conclude this section: *The Book of Life* was an old institution, which went out of fashion; it seems to have been revived in Ṭūr 'Abdīn in the fifteenth century and it is in the context of this revival that we should see Addai's work. But the revived *Book of Life* had a somewhat different function.

How was the *Book of Life* used, and what was its function in the community? One way to answer this is to begin with the most frequently used verb in the text: ḥāsi, "to pardon, wipe out sin". No. 1, for example, ends with the following prayer: "May the Lord pardon (nḥāse) everyone who reads in it with faith and who prays-for-the-forgiveness-of (likewise: nḥāse) all who had a part in it, and who is benefited by it and respects it!" Here we see the grammatical expression of a belief that the performance of such rituals somehow effects something which, in the end, only God can actually do (cf. Palmer 1988, pp. 116-7).

Large tracts of the book are filled with what the Syrians call "chains" of names. A "chain" of names is best imagined as the number of names one can pronounce with one breath, including the closing words: "May the Lord pardon them, amen!" (A good example is H.8.) I was witness to something similar after a funeral service in Kafarbē in 1978. A modest banquet was laid out on the floor of the church, and we sat down then and there to eat the crushed wheat, while the priest Ephrem of Arkah paced around, rattling off prayers for the dead, which ended with the Tūrōyō equivalent of the same closing words: Ālōhō mḥāsalle! These words were echoed thunderously, between mouthfuls, by the congregation.

The effectivity of prayers for the dead has always been a favourite subject for preaching in the Syrian Orthodox Church. Their customs make you constantly aware of their belief that they are "compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses" (Hebr. 12:1). Each individual bears a special responsibility for his own dead relatives, but the whole village prays for those who have benefited the community by service or by benefaction. This activity reinforces the community-consciousness. What is more, the *Book of Life*, which fulfilled this function, fostered the conviction that there was an unbroken "chain" of filial, social and ecclesiastical piety, reaching back to the very origins of the Christian Church and binding modern people strongly to their roots.

The original function of the *Book of Life* is liturgical: it constituted a commemoration of the dead after the Kiss of Peace (see Connolly 1912). It corresponds to the diptychs described in chapter 3 of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's *Celestial Hierarchies*, on which the ninth-century Syrian Orthodox Moses bar Kifō draws heavily in his liturgical commentary, when he explains the *Book of Life* (Connolly and Codrington 1913, pp. 41-42; cf. Bar Šalībī, p. 14). This variant of the commemorative aspect of the eucharist is attested from regions of Syria and Armenia (Connolly 1912). It is not to be confused with the six diaconal diptychs (three for the living and three for the dead), which are recited at the epiklēsis; although when the *Book of Life* was proclaimed, the omission of the diptychs of the dead was permitted (Connolly 1912, 1913). The *Book of Life* was only proclaimed on special occasions, and then by a priest, not a deacon. The *Book of Life* published by Connolly and Codrington (1913) contains (pp. 112-13) instructions for its own use. Properly it was read "on the right hand of the Table of Life", i.e. the altar, "on Sundays and on Dominical Feastdays"; but "from time to time" it was read at the entrance to the sanctuary "for the good profit and laudable emulation of the true believers". It was kept permanently on the altar, just as the onyx tablets (Ex. 28:9f)

engraved with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel were set in the shoulders of the ephod, so that Aaron should "bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgment on his heart, when he goeth into the holy place, for a memorial before the Lord continuously" (Ex. 28:29). The permanent reservation and regular recitation of the *Book of Life* on the altar was a ritual directed towards God. But Ex. 28:12 speaks also of "stones of memorial unto the children of Israel", which might be read as a description of a second and subsidiary function of the tablets as a reminder to the people of the piety of their ancestors and a spur to emulation. It is this function which justifies the occasional proclamation from the entrance of the sanctuary.

Moses (followed by Bar Šalībī and himself following the "Areopagite") gives six reasons for reading the *Book of Life* on the altar (though in Bar Šalībī's time the practice had ceased, as he says, "everywhere"):

- 1) To remind the people of those who have died in piety;
- 2) To show that they are now living and not dead;
- 3) To associate them with the Eucharist in death as in life;
- 4) To show that they are always in the place where Jesus is;
- 5) To show that "there is a holy remembrance of them";
- 6) To encourage others to gain for themselves the same reward.

The *Book of Life* of Aleppo (Connolly and Codrington 1913, pp. 112-27) begins with an invocation of the Holy Trinity and a description of itself and of its purpose (one page), then sums up the life of Jesus and the foundation of the Christian Church (eight pages), then lists the names of Adam and Eve and the righteous men, prophets, priests and kings of the Old Testament (one page), then those of the Apostles, Evangelists, Seventy-Two Evangelists and Holy Women, headed by the Mother of Christ (one page), then the first three Ecumenical Councils, the Christian kings, beginning with Abgar and Constantine, the patriarchs of Antioch, the Church Fathers, the great bishops, the holy men and the martyrs, such as are recognized by the Syrian Orthodox Church (three and a half pages), and (in the last half-page), without naming individuals, the lower ecclesiastical orders "and the rest of the orthodox clergy who are from here and from every place and city and village and hamlet, of those who are of sound faith and orthodox, and especially those who are of our own right faith, the enviable Syrian Jacobites. May God pardon them all in common, and us by their prayers: Amen and Amen." Finally there is a prayer for those who have not been mentioned.

This probably gives an idea of the classic *Book of Life*, which was read out regularly and therefore had to be kept short. How the lengthier versions, with which we are here concerned, developed to include many more names, both of the dead and of the living, is indicated by Baršawm (1943, pp. 94-5): "A few persons who betrayed the Covenant of the Faith have been expunged from the catena [...]. But the names of certain outstanding priests and deacons, of the best monks and nuns, and of the bringers of donations and alms are added. Often pages are left blank in it for new names to be recorded." This may be the reason why the recitation of the *Book of Life* was abandoned at some time between the ninth and the twelfth centuries: it became unmanageably long.

In some places, however, it did not become totally obsolete, although it was probably not recited aloud.

The *Book of Life of Beth Svirina*, as we have it, shows evidence that an attempt was made to incorporate most of the "classic" elements (Nos. 41-44, 49, 50). But the list of (mainly local) saints has the appearance of having been hurriedly gleaned from the shelves of a library of hagiography, with much duplication; whereas the lists of the patriarchs, maphrians and bishops are a mixture between commemoration, anathema and history. It is curious that the patriarch Ephrem, who persecuted the Syrian Orthodox in the sixth century, is commemorated (fol. VII, p. 12), while Athanasius Sandloyō, who has two feast-days in *Cal. TA*, is anathematized; this excites the suspicion that the list of patriarchs is of alien origin. But whereas the formal elements constitute the essence of the *Book of Life* of Aleppo, our text devotes little room to them. By contrast it harbours 15,000 or so names, including not only clergy but also ordinary men, women and children. Each individual is written down separately with his or her quality; God is not asked to "pardon them all in common". The Svirinite villagers believed in the sanctity of the individual and expressed this belief in a way that would be impracticable in a big city like Aleppo.

Noteworthy is the loving detail with which the homely donations are described. The word "beautiful" is frequently employed when recording the gift of a carpet or a curtain, a book (such as the Estrangēlo Bible bought back on private initiative from the Turks), a vestment, a chalice, a bronze cauldron, a vineyard, a donkey or a mulberry tree for the new door of the church. The verb "to care" (ṭṣēf) is used to convey the message: "he provided funds"; and I have chosen to translate it in that prosaic way (cf. *Monk and Mason*, p. 203). As we have remarked, the *Book of Life* not only commemorated. It encouraged the habit of generosity to the church on the part of those who could afford it, and so softened the resentment of the poor against the rich. H.3 shows how generosity, good sense and imagination brought a village through a crisis stronger than it had been before. The same extract is a good example of how this kind of commemoration can become a sort of incidental historiography.

The *Book of Life* as published here lays a moderate emphasis on the symbolic function of the clergy; but it shows that priest and deacons and even hermits, were members of village and family units. The whole text breathes forgiveness and this smoothed village contentions. The *Book of Life* deserved its lovely name, because it helped the community to survive and prosper.

In spite of what was said in *Monk and Mason*, p. 51, there does appear to have been some contamination of the *Book of Life* by the *Qartmin Trilogy* (see Nos. 41, 43 and 44). However, there are also some startling divergences. The same Roman emperors are named (Constantine is added) and are stated to have given "holy canons and laws" to the abbey; not a word is spoken about the funding of buildings. Yet it is one of the tenets of *Monk and Mason* (Chs. 2 and 4) that this funding did occur. The explanation given by the *Book of Life* for the commemoration of these emperors at Qartmīn is unconvincing. On the other hand the characterization of Daniel ʿUzōyō and Abel as respectively the first resident bishop and the first stylite in the abbey seem likely to have at least the authority of a local oral tradition (No. 43 and the notes on No. 44), or liturgical commemoration.

How far back in time the practice of keeping the *Book of Life* at Qartmīn Abbey goes is uncertain. An inscription at ʿUrdnus perpetuates an eighth-century record originally jotted, it would seem, on the fly-leaf of a Bible (*Monk and Mason*, pp. 209-10). Damascus 12/8 (of 1055) is an example of such a Bible; it was kept in a church at Dunaysir near Mardin, where it collected pious records in Armenian and Syriac from the hands of pilgrims, male and female, to the shrine of Mōr Barṣawmō (unpublished evidence). Qartmīn Abbey was a centre of pilgrimage. If the Bible in the church there had no more room for such records, it may have been decided to add them to the end of a *Book of Life* that originally resembled that of Aleppo. An inscription of c.1100 may preserve evidence of a lost early bishop-list from this *Book of Life*, going back to the early ninth century (see *Monk and Mason*, p. 225). If the upper date in this inscription, AD 848/9, represents the birthyear of the *Book of Life* of *Qartmin Abbey*, it might be related to the history of epigraphy: the two genres were almost identical in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, being devoted to commemorating the provision of infrastructure for the Faith and the death of clerics and, in second instance, the death of other pious persons and certain local events. The alternative genre of the *Book of Life* may have compensated for the temporary decline of epigraphy in the ninth century (see *Monk and Mason*, pp. 217-18).

How did the *Book of Life* develop into the repository of dated records that it later became? This happened step by step. The first dated entry concerns the protection of the book itself. The second revolves around the fate of the book during a raid, but it also tells about general conditions in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn at that time. The third is an overgrown commemoration of public benefactors. The fourth concerns the book itself. And so we come to the fifth, which takes its cue from the second, but describes the raid above all, mentioning only incidentally the church leaders of the time, with the obligatory "May the Lord pardon them!" This is the furthest the entries would ever stray from their original purpose. By comparing Addai's entries in his *Chronicles* and in the *Book* one gets a good idea of how he considered the genres to differ. For the *Book* there had to be an association with a benefaction or with the faithful departed.

The historical value of the *Book of Life* does not lie in the dated entries alone; it has many invaluable anthropological insights to offer, from details like those discussed in the notes on No. 3 to the general reflections set out under E.4. Analysis of the tens of

thousands of names might produce a whole kin-structure for the fifteenth century clergy of Beṭ Svīrīnā; the family-tree of the priest Addai is the first-fruits of such research. This is a project that might benefit from the advances in computer-science.

The names in themselves are interesting, as can be seen from the first attempt at an analysis under G, below. The place-names are precious, especially since they are often vocalised and provided with the appropriate adjective in various orthographic guises. There are, for instance, a number of names with the archaic ending -aḥ or -aḥ: Afṣaḥ, Fafēḥ, HBTK, Hataḥ, Šamanzaḥ, Šuriṣbaḥ, Timarzaḥ, in addition to those in *Monk and Mason*, p. 29 with n. 53. The list also reveals some of the lost Christian communities of Beṭ Muḥallam, between Midyat and Mardin/Şawro. Only further research on the *Book of Life* can show if this can help us to date the Islamicisation of that region (see Fiey 1982, p. 261 with n. 23).

One of the chief sources for the history of ʿAbdīn in the period after that treated in *Monk and Mason* is the continuator of *Chr. Gregory I-III*, whom we have identified with Addai of Beṭ Svīrīnā, the compiler of the late fifteenth-century *Book of Life*. Addai deserves a full-length study, for which more MS research is necessary. Van Helmond (1942), Barṣawm (1964), Göyünç (1969, 1974) and Fiey (1982) have already made a start on aspects of the history of north-eastern Mesopotamia in and around the fifteenth century. Before we go further, we should study all the available sources. The *Book of Life* as kept at Qartmīn Abbey and at Beṭ Svīrīnā still has many secrets to reveal. *L. John bar Shayallah*, another excellent document of active preservation against the "tooth of time", will soon be available. Perhaps the notes made by Barṣawm (1943, p. 95; Syriac, p. 132) from the *Book of Life* of Zāz may be discovered. New inscriptions are waiting to be recorded. When these and other preparations have been made it will be time to think of a sequel. This *Book of Life* links *Monk and Mason* organically with its unborn and unnamed sister-study.

F. THE BOOK OF LIFE ACCORDING TO THE TRADITION OF BETH SVIRINA

Here follows the Syriac text of the *Book of Life*, as copied by Kenʿān of Fōfyaṭ from a MS dated 1959 at the abbey of Qartmīn. The page-numbers in arabic numerals at the bottom apply to the present text; the page-ends of the Qartmīn MS are marked with an asterisk and noted as "fol." with roman numerals in the margin. The other numbers ("No.") refer to the passages translated at the end of the Microfiche Supplement, section H.

منه وارا منه ق فلتس منه وحاب منه
امو محسدا . منه وهذا من منه الما م .

[illegible]

p. 1

﴿بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ﴾
 وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي
 أَنشَأَ مِنَّا فَاطِمَةَ
 حَبِيبَتَنَا وَهِيَ سَيِّدَةُ
 الْمَرْفُوعِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ
 الَّذِي جَعَلَ فِيهَا
 لَنَا مَوْجِبَ نَفْسٍ

Title

[illegible]

Preface

p. 0
fol. I

[illegible]

[أما عن هذا فقد نجد حبيبا عند أروى ومقتل].
 حتى نجد هذا خبر ولا نجد له : مصدا خبره

p. 14

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fol. X

No. 45

১৮

p. 15

خجندا. لخبلا سرا ولاكسا جع حبا
 وحنف مهنع هامنالا حمللا لمعتن
 واوفا احبا هادكلا جع انتب هقلا وحبا
 همت انا همنصب ملكا ح حقا
 حمهوهوا واحم مصل حمفص هوه
 همت مهنه ومننا ح همت احدا ملسا
 همتا وحبا مهننا سرا ملسا
 خجندا. اف امنا حمللا لمعتن الا
 بسما لاه والنبته. هبسما الا
 هبعجف لاهم. وبعجف جع احنا
 وبعجف خندا عتلا مسلكا هرتكلا
 هقتا هفتا همامنا عتلا اف
 هقتا همامقما وابد حمه ملسا
 وعتلا. هبسما لاهم ح مهنه
 والنبته. وبعجف رلكا لبا وامبنا
 مننا بسما وبعجف مهنه وحده مهنه
 اجم امكلم. همتا هماما مرسا
 قمبر مهنه. همتا لبا وامبنا
 ملك بقدا ونجبهته. احده جع انتب
 اذوقا اننا. مهنه ملكا ح حقا
 اجم لبا وحنف ووا. حقا وادنا
 هماما ملسا ووت. حدهما وادنا

ل

هس حقا وحنف هماما مرسا
 الا بسما لاه. مهنه همتا
 الا احنق الا لاه مهنه حبا
 اجم. مننا بسما لاه. همت مهنه حنا
 وناما مهنه همتا وحنف حنا
 هومننا خندا. الا بسما لاه. اجم
 اجم وحنف ملسا مهنه انا حقا
 ومنا وحنف حبا. وحنف مهنه
 حبا. حنا مهنه. اجم
 مهنه الا بسما لاه. مهنه
 مننا احنم حنا. مهنه. وناما
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 وحنف مننا بسما لاه. احنم
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ل

No. 21

p. 40

fol. XXVI

p. 41

fol. XL

७५५

No. 18

p. 82

4

لكننا واما ههنا فمجلسهم حرمنا
 حب لا يابحونهم مع اهل الا حرموا
 الا انهم احصوا ههنا ما احصوا
 حرمنا له احدا وامامهم ههنا
 حرمنا. ميتا ومعهما احدا
 الا انهم قد احصوا امر خيرة

No. 17

لجبر من وهدنا لها هداهونا مدخل
حبر جاما وملم منهدا لاحر مصدا
الجلال لبقا من فالد مصدا
وهدنا حبرا وفناصع وابادة مصدا
هدنا مصدا* ورجع منا مصدا
اقنا لمقد من لا لهدنا فاما. ورجع
لوقا لهدنا وجرقا. هامة مصدا
وهدنا حبرنا وهدنا. ملك بعه
ههدنا واحدة اهدنا ونهدنا
هامة كالجبا. هامة وبله مصدا
اوب هدا انا ومله هدا. هامة
وهدا: احدا وبهنا لهدنا هدا
حبر هدا هدا هدا هدا هدا
هدهنا هدا وهدنا هدا حبرا
لهدنا حبر اصح

五

p. 94

[illegible]

का

p. 95

fol. LX

p. 96

fol. IX

p. 97

منقول. وهب و مننا دفنا ما حذو مصدق
 واللا. الاها بسما لاهق: ~~مفوسما~~
 و مننا دفنا ما * اناجيد مصدق: ~~مفوسما~~
 ه حقت مصدقا امدهوم. حقت الاها
 ه مصدقا ه قآ جبر مننا بسما
 لاهق: امحل و تاجو مسع ه نكاهاد
 حقتا ه احمقا بمقتدا و بلاءه
 ولما الاها منسما و سلعهم اهلهم
 ه اهلهم
 اذق ومع ملك اذقق بنت لاهق
 مصدقا و لاهقنا هها. بسما مننا
 و مصدقه هها و هه منسح هها ~~مفوسما~~
 لاهقنا. و هه مصدق و مننا ~~مفوسما~~
 و هه مصدقه. و هه منسح. و هه ~~مفوسما~~
 و هه مصدق: اؤنا الاكبره هها مننا
 بسما لاهق: و هه منسح و هها
 و اناجيد مصدق: اوج حلت مننا مننا
 بسما لاهق: بسما ملكا اؤنا
 و هه و مصدقه و هه و هه امدهوم
 بسما منسح اؤنا هها مننا
 بسما ~~مفوسما~~ الاكبره مننا بسما
 لاهق: مصدق: حذو ~~مفوسما~~ منسح

fol. LXV

ه حقتا و منسح و مننا ملكا فها
 ه مصدق: ه امدهوم منسح هها حذو
 منسح و مننا هها و لاهق: ~~مفوسما~~
 ه امدهوم حذو حذو و مننا ملكا مصدق
 الاها بسما لاهق: مصدق: حقت الاها
 حقت. منسح حقت. حذو حقت
 مصدق: حقت. احم حقت. مننا حقت
 حقت. امصص حقت. اذنا حقت
 مصدق: حقت. اؤنا حقت. اؤنا
 و لاهقنا هها مننا بسما لاهق:
 مصدقا حقت. مصدقا حقت. بسما
 حقت. ~~مفوسما~~ حقت. و لاهق: حقت
 منسح حقت. و هها حقت. مصدق: حقت
 امصص حقت. اؤنا حقت. مصدق: حقت
 منسح حقت. الاها حقت. بسما
 مصدقا حقت. مصدق: حقت مننا بسما
 و لاهق: حقت. احم حقت. ~~مفوسما~~
 حقت. و لاهق: حقت مصدقا حقت. منسح
 حقت. مصدقا حقت. منسح و مصدق
 ه منسح حقتا. مصدقا حقت
 مصدقا مننا بسما لاهق: ~~مفوسما~~
 لاهق: و هها. امصص ~~مفوسما~~ حقتا

fol. LXVI

No. 44 **اذا وقع ملك بعتا محبتا واحقتا**
وذا لجمنا حببا منا بحداد لم
حوالما من احم

fol. LXVIII

p. 110

20

[illegible]

fol. CVII

۵۳۰

[illegible]

p.177

No. 23

p.186

150

p. 187

fol. CXVI

p. 192

品

p. 193

[illegible]

五

p. 202

[illegible]

۷۹

p. 203

١- محمد بن عبد الله بن أحمد - ١٥٦٢ - ١٥٧١ م .
 " " " " "
 " " " " "
 " " " " "

٢- محمد بن عبد الله بن أحمد - ١٥٨٣ - ١٥٩٠ م .

p. 214

١٨٩٦ م ٥ ايامه حديا .

p. 215

1. ʿAynwardō - ʿWRDNōyō: For this form of the adjective, cf. Palmer (1987), p. 65f.
2. Bāstlē - The only place near Mardin with a remotely similar name, as far as can be seen from Göyünç (1969), base-map, is Deyr Basiyye. A monastery of Mōr Šilo is known from the history of this region. Without much confidence I suggest the following hypothetical derivation: dayrō d-beṭ mōr šilo :: dayrō d-beṭ šilo :: der be/ba-šile :: bāstlē/deyr basiyye.
3. Beṭ Bayšan - The identification with Babiš is Gülten's; the full form of the name is given by Baršawm.
4. Beṭ Diyūpē: B.N. syr. 41, on which see Zotenberg (1874), p. 14, was copied at the monastery of Mōr Jacob the Teacher on Mount İzlo, near the village of Beṭ Diyūpē; my note below on "Dayrō d-Qarnō" shows that this is another form of Beṭ Debe.
5. Beṭ Qūsnōyō: This is not an adjective; I suggest tentative identification with Bakısyān near Nusaybin, because Beṭ Qusṭān near Ḥaḥ, though also called Bakısyān, is not elsewhere written without the TETH.
6. [Bīlū] - BYLōyō: The name is supplied by Baršawm as that of a village in Tūr ʿAbdīn, so it must be distinguished from Bīlū, next to Pīlīn on the river Arsenias/Mūrāt (Damascus 12/18, fol. 62b.1, in *L. Theodotos*), the modern Palū.
7. Dayrō d-Ḥesnō Ḥdatō: The MS unfailingly has a point above the DOLATH of Ḥdatō, suggesting to me that it should be read as a feminine adjective: the New Monastery of Ḥesnō [d-Kīfō], as opposed to the other Dayrō Ḥdatō near ʿŪr(d)nus, q.v.
8. Dayrō d-Qarnō: "The monastery of the Mother of God and of Mōr Jacob and of Mōr Dīmet, which is known as that of the Horn (d-Qarnō), which is in the village of Beṭ Debe on Mount İzlo" (Baršawm 1964, p.33). Bishop Timothy Aktaş of Tūr ʿAbdīn told me that this is the Monastery of Mōr Jacob the Teacher, bishop of Srūg (cf. n. 4, on Beṭ Diyūpē).
9. "The Desert of Egypt": Until the sixteenth century, many Tūrʿabdinian monks did a stint at the Mesopotamian monastic colony, Dayr al-Suryān, properly called the "Monastery of the Mother of God", in the Wadr 'l-Naṭrūn (Evelyn White 1932).
10. Fafeḥ: Sometimes confused with Fofyāt, this village was made known by Bell (Bell/Mango 1982, pp. 28-9) in the form Fafi; but the Turkish map from which Anshütz's base-map is copied gives Fafih. This source does not write "h" unless it is clearly audible (contrast e.g. Šorozbah with Keferbi). The confusion in Baršawm (1964, p. 30) is due to poor editing.

11. Hataḥ: "A fortress and a region north of Mayperqaṭ in Šophanene; people call it Antaḥ." (Baršawm 1943, p. 520)
12. Ḥayṭam Castle: The former Castle of Tūr ʿAbdīn, on which see Baršawm (1964), pp. 22-8, and *Monk and Mason*, pp. 4-7, with the photograph on the cover (cf. Qel'ō Ḥdatō, below).
13. Ḥvōv: Now pronounced, as Socin (1885, p. 255) says: "āḥwō".
14. Kartwōytō: Written in one place, perhaps by mistake, as "Kartwōyōtō", though without the dots of the plural.
15. Kafaršāmaʿ: The site is now occupied by a barracks, just north of Midyat; Socin (1885, p. 260) is wrong to place it one hour to the south of Midyat - so, at least, Gülten told me. The village contained the Monastery of Mōr Šarbel and Mōr Jacob the Teacher, of Srūg (Baršawm 1964, p. 34).
16. Mazraʿtō: The references are made on the basis of a very conjectural identification with Maʿsarte/Ömerli; only Dolapönü names Mezraes in the province of Siirt..
17. Maʿdan: "A region in the quarter of Šerwān in the province of Sʿert." (Baršawm 1943, p. 519)
18. Meštīn: Both *Monk and Mason*, p. 20, and the Qelethites there quoted are wrong: Meštīn is half-way between Mardīn and Midyat, 7 km south of Fafih, 30 km from Mardīn and 30 km from Šawrō. Baršawm may be right to identify it with Eštīn.
19. Ōlīn - There was one Ōlīn near Zāz (not marked on the map) and another near Arbō, though this may be Elīn. On the other hand Elīn may be Ālīn, near the Tigris to the east of Ḥesnō d-Kīfō.
20. PRYR: For Fīl pronounced "Fīr" see Socin (1885), p.242, and the legend of Mōr Doḡō, as written in the 15th century (pp. 272-3 of the MS in the possession of the Demir family in Kirchartt): "The monastery of the Valley of Gehenna, which was built under the invocation of the holy Mōr Doḡō in the canyon of the village of Espes in the province of Pīr."
21. Qaltūq: "A village in the province of Šawrō, where Christians lived in the mid-seventeenth century." (Baršawm 1943, p. 518) The ruins can be seen in the valley-bottom between Šawrō and Qeleṭ. It is mentioned in the fifteenth-century narrative of *L. John bar Shayallah*, e.g. fol. 83b, and in *Chr. Zuqnin* 774, p. 164, with reference to the seventh century.

22. Qel'ō Ḥdātō: Yaqt, vol.2, p. 42 has an entry on "Ġudayyida Castle" between Nisibis and Mossul, the lands of which were contiguous with those of Ḥesnō d-Kifō. It was "usually" under Mossulite control and possessed well-drained arable (ʿady); moreover it was very well fortified. The Turkish 1:200,000 map of 1948 labels the site of Haytam Castle as Gelhacedidi, but *Chr. Addai 1503*, fol 193b, p. xxiv, distinguishes Haytam clearly from the "New Castle". Bishop Timothy of Tūr ʿAbdīn showed me the site of the latter between Beṯ Dēbē and Mōrbōbō, near the summit of Mount Bagokke (Bakuk on the Turkish map, formerly Beṯ Gawgal: cf. *Monk and Mason*, p. 29). It is surprising that Yaqt has no entry on Haytam Castle, which had better arable, stronger fortifications, and more history: perhaps, like the Turkish cartographer, he confused two sites on the same inaccessible mountain chain? Ġudayyida (vocalised by Wüstenfeld as Ġudayda) is the diminutive of ḡadīda, "new"; but Yaqt says the castle was old (qadīma). Haytam was certainly old; indeed, it predated the Arabs, so it is hard to see how they could ever have called it new; but nothing is heard of Qel'ō Ḥdātō before the fifteenth century (*Chr. Addai 1503*).

23. Qēn ʿUrbo, above ʿIluz: Information from Gülten; for İlöze, two hours east of Kafar Gawzō, see Socin (1885), p. 266.

24. Qaşūr: "Qaşūr, also called Ġūliyya, a village to the south of Mardīn at a distance of two hours." (Baršawm 1943, p. 518)

25. Rūmānōs: Baršawm (1943) gives Bārūmān(a) as well as Rūmānā and Rūmāniyya; B.N. syr. 54 was copied in AD 1192 by a native of Rūmānā, for a native of ʿLYN (Zotenberg 1874, p. 20).

26. Šat: Socin (1885), p.261, has Sat or Zat, one and a half hours south-west of Kafarʿallab, but this may be Kafarzūṭō, with a ʿTETH (cf. Beṯ Šaṭōyē); other candidates: Sadi, near Bahremli, and Sada, near Fafih; the latter is more likely.

27. Šamanzāḥ, Šamznāḥ: Baršawm (1964, p. 30) has ŠMNZ.

28. Telbesmē, Telbesmī: Known in the eighth century as Tell Bešmay (see *Monk and Mason*, p. 170 n. 181); Baršawm (1943, p. 505) has the short form, Tel Bism, also, and adds: "It is in the region of Diyār Rabīʿa and in that of Šabaḥtān, to the north-west of Mardīn."

29. Telo d-Arsīnōs: "Tel Arsanius" in Baršawm (1943), on the river Mūrāt.

30. TLDRʿ: The information comes from Gülten.

31. TYMRZH: Baršawm has TMRZ as well (cf. Socin 1885: Tāmārz).

32. ʿUmro d-Mōr Ananias: Dayr al-Zaʿfarān, near Mardīn.

33. ʿUmro d-Mōr Samuel: If this is Qartmīn Abbey, it is an isolated case of this appellation.

34. Zargel: "A large village in Beṯ Širōye in the province of Sʿert" (Baršawm 1943, p.516). Gülten adds: "near Dēr Qīra".

35. ZBDYQNʿ: Baršawm (1964, p. 29) has ZBDYQʿ; Zabdicene is the Greek for Beṯ Zabday.

36. Zrōʿiō d-Zaytē: There is a misprint in Baršawm's book (1964, p. 29), where it reads ZRTʿ D-ZYTʿ.

End of the notes on the place-names

[G.6 has been sent uncopied to the publisher]

Title: /fol. I, p. 0/ In the strength and the support of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the one true God, we begin to write out the Book of Life according to the manuscript tradition (aṣeftō) of Beṭ Svīrīnā.

Preface: /fol. I, p. 0/ In the manuscript which Mōr Iwānīs brought from the Patriarchate we found the following information: the manuscript from which he transcribed it had seventy-four pages and belonged to Beṭ Svīrīnā, though it is now in the Patriarchate. The manuscript which the late patriarch Ephrem mentions in his book of *Scattered Pearls* was found by him at Beṭ Svīrīnā; he affirms that it belonged to the monastery of Qartmīn and had one hundred and forty pages. Yet although the present Beṭ Svīrīnā manuscript had seventy-two (sic) pages, some of its inner pages have been lost here and there. /1/ As for that of the village of Zaz, it had eighty pages and was copied in AD 1600, whereas that of Qartmīn was copied in AD 1490.

Comment: Ephrem Bilgiç of Bōtē (1891-1984) took the name "Mōr Iwānīs" as bishop of Tūr ʿAbdīn; the reference to the patriarch Ephrem means Barṣawm (1943), p. 95, on which see the Introduction E.1, on the MSS.

Prayer: /fol. IV, p. 7/ Lord God the Compassionate, by the prayers of these saints who pleased Your Majesty by doing Your Will, all of whose names we have written in Your Book of Life, and by the prayers of all the just and the righteous from Adam until today, we perform the commemoration of all of them; expiate their sins and those of their departed ones and forgive the shortcomings of all those /V/ who are marked down and who will be marked down and written in the Book of Life which is here, and inscribe them in Your Book of everlasting and eternal Life, as many as have participated in the erection of churches and monasteries and who will participate from today onwards in everything that their hand can turn to good. Also the miserable sinner who wrote this and his departed ones, that he may rejoice, and his late relatives, /8/ in the Bridal Chamber of light with them, amen! And for our Lord's sake, may the Lord have mercy on them and on everyone who has a part in this holy church. The priests and the deacons and the laymen, our brothers, so that we too may be helped and may be rescued from hell by the pure intercessions and appeals of these same saints whose names we have written down, that they may intercede with God the Compassionate for the sake of us sinners and weak ones and for the sake of the faithful departed who have departed from this holy church, amen!

Comment: See the Introduction, E.4, and compare the prayer on fol. CII, pp. 168-9: "As God the Compassionate made atonement (ḥāst) with His Blood for the wickedness of the world by His Crucifixion on the Wood in Sion, so may He also by His great Mercy blot out the faults and pardon (nḥāṣē) and forgive the sins of all the departed whose names are written in this earthly book and may He write their names in His own Book of Life which is in the Heavenly Jerusalem, for ever and ever, amen!"

No. 1. [AD 1039/40] /fol. LVI, p. 91/ These books were copied in the days of Mōr Basil, the metropolitan of Nisibis, and Mōr Iwānīs, the bishop of Gōzartō, from the same abbey and from the *castrum* of Beṭ Svīrīnā, and the relatives of the same bishop (sic). And the bishop of the Abbey and these bishops forbade them by the awful word of the Lord to take out one of these books from the possession of the said abbey, in order to study and read in them; because many people hold onto the books for a long time and take them out of the abbey /92/ and then either purloin them themselves, or give them to others to read, then die, so that the books remain with the latter. If anyone has the temerity to break this rule, the Word of God itself will destroy him and curses and anathemas will be upon him. Now when he [sc. the Bishop?] went into the archive of this holy abbey in the year one thousand and three hundred and fifty-one of the Greeks; and it was in the hands of that chaste monk and virtuous priest and scribe, Mōr Solomon of Beṭ Svīrīnā (pray for him!); and he found all the books and vestments and objects and liturgical furniture collected and stoutly bound (ḥlīmīn; or read ḥmīlīn, "stored") in their place. Then the bishop and the monks and all the abbots pronounced a decree by the awful Word which comes from Him and from His holy Angels and the Fathers and Teachers and the Just and the Righteous and the Prophets and the Apostles and all who have done or who are doing the Will of God, the Lord of All, frightening and dreadful anathemas, harsher than the flame which melts mountains, harsher than the two-edged sword, (anathemas which) judge /LVII/ the innermost thoughts of men and which enter into the brain and the veins of every person /93/ who erases and scrapes clean, or cuts this record out of this book, or who conspires to alienate this book from this abbey of Qartmīn. But may the Lord pardon everyone who reads in it with faith and who prays for the forgiveness of (mḥāṣē) all who were involved in it, and who is benefited by it and respects it!

Comment: Basil, a monk of Qartmīn, was made bishop of Nisibis by the patriarch John bar ʿAbdūn (1004-1030) and was not succeeded until the reign of John IX (1041/2-1057); by "the bishop of the Abbey" (sc. of Qartmīn) is meant the bishop of Tūr ʿAbdīn, who resided there - in this case presumably Iwānīs Zakāy, from the monastery of ʿĀbed, who was ordained between 1031 and 1042. (See *Chr. Michael 1195*, Register of Ordinations, XXXI.19, XXXII.12, XXXIII.2) The bishop of Gōzartō does not appear in Michael's list, because he would have been ordained by the Maphrian of the East. The books here mentioned should be associated with the calligraphic revival initiated by Bishop John, a native of Beṭ Svīrīnā, on whom see Palmer (1986, 1987: 116-19, 1989) and *Monk and Mason*, p. 221. It is an indication of the extent of loss that the present *Book of Life* contains only a distant echo of the report in *Chr. Gregory II*, cols. 417-20 (see No. 50). Compare the Introduction and No. 4, below.

No. 2. [AD 1099/1100] /fol. XLVII, p. 79/ In the year one thousand and 400 (MS: twice 400) and 11 (MS: 51) of the Greeks this holy abbey of Qartmīn was raided for the first time by hostile Turks together with the whole region of Tūr ʿAbdīn; and they sacked the abbey and the villages around it; and those raiders remained in it for fourteen days in all, plundering and sacking and destroying. And certain lawless camp-followers from the

Mardīn area joined them in plundering it, until everything in it had been spoiled. And the camp of their captains and their cavalry was inside the abbey. There was a great plundering of the abbey and of all its sacred furniture and every possession in it, objects of bronze and of iron, and vestments and curtains and lamps and books. This book, too, fell into their hands. They tore it up and cut many leaves from it in many places; and some of its leaves they took as far as Nisibis. But we made diligent researches until, by investigating in many places, we found the parts which had fallen out of it, after a large-scale search; and we took it and we saw that, of all the names that were in it, only one leaf was mislaid, containing some of the names of the faithful of this abbey. The rest we renovated in its entirety and we made a copy of it, though not one comparable with the original, because of the mediocrity of our knowledge. That is a consequence of this dark and trouble-filled time of ours, in which /81/ the abbey suffered from a dire lack of scribes and of readers and of clergy to lead the services; priests and deacons were hardly to be found. And in the same raid the So^curō of the monastery died of hunger. And during the same raid the sons of ʿTūr ʿAbdīn took refuge below the castle of Šawrō. And people were in want in all countries; and a measure of wheat reached fifty dīnārs and perhaps even more, and barley likewise, and millet likewise; and six bushels of acorns (were sold) for a hundred dīnārs. And people were tormented by great shortage of food. The summer was over and God shortened His Blessing, to the point that a bushel of seed reached thirty and forty /L/ dreḥūnē, and two jars of grape-molasses (were sold) for a dīnār in ʿTūr ʿAbdīn itself. And from there the people went and sought shelter in the castle of Hayṭam; and there in that castle we renovated this book, under the direction of the sinner Basil, who is in the name of his bishop (*sic*).

Comment: Baršawm (1964: 91-2) has a slightly different text, due in some places probably to his wish to correct the poor Syriac, or else to an error, but indicating in other places the reading of his MS, from which ours is derived. Thus ʿTūr ʿAbdīn is written with OLAF substituted for the ʿE; the camp-followers came from the area of M^carē (but Baršawm regards this reading as uncertain); the raiders had one captain, not several; the catalogue of the possessions of the abbey culminates in qīmēle, "treasures"; and the narrative finishes as follows: "under the direction of the sinner Basil, who is in (*i.e.* shares) the name of his bishop, Basil Šamly of Beṭ Man^cem." Bishop Šamly was responsible for the erection of a memorial at Qartmīn Abbey, which echoes our text in several phrases (see Palmer 1987, pp. 116-9 and *Monk and Mason*, pp. 224-5, with fig. 51). In publishing this inscription for the first time, Pognon (1907: 49) quoted the *Book of Life* from the MS later used by Baršawm (see the Introduction, above); his text shows that AG 1851 is the date in the original (though he agrees with Baršawm in correcting it to AG 1411), and that the uncertain place-name might be read as Merdō, "Mardīn". For the meaning of So^curō, see *Monk and Mason*, p. 92 with n. 117. N.B. "Bushel" and "jar" are translated *ad sensum*, without any precise idea of quantity.

No. 3. [AD 1166/7] /fol. XIV, p. 21/ And in the year 1478 of the Greeks (AD 1166/7), in the days of Michael I, patriarch of Antioch, Village-head Thomas, /22/ the son of Village-head Šovō of the village of Beṭ Svīrtā, and his sons Rabān Simeon and Rabān

Abū ʿl-Masīḥ and Abū ʿl-Faraḡ, the sons of Village-head Thomas (*sic*), provided the funds to buy one third of the village of Beṭ Svīrtā from the Muslims, including their vineyards and their cisterns and their houses - about one hundred houses in all - for ten pounds of gold; as for the Christians, they constituted about two hundred households. This came about because there was a dispute between them; the Christians said to the Muslims, after they had eaten the Feast of the great Sunday of the Resurrection together: "Either you buy our inheritance, whether you sell or give us twenty pounds of gold (*sic*), or else we give you ten; for we are at least twice as many as you." And the Muslims took counsel together and decided to take the ten pounds of gold and to go and live in one of the ruins (*i.e.* ruined villages) on the plain; for the Muslims are lovers of gold. They weighed their gold (lit. the gold from them) and the sons of Beṭ Svīrtā were one pound short. And they went to the abbey of Mōr Gabriel, and borrowed one pound from it, in return for which we now pay tribute. (It was agreed) that the right hand of Mōr Gabriel should come once or twice every year and that they should give him grape-molasses and raisins and wheat and money /23/ for the lamps of the lamp-stands - for most of the lampstands are (the gift) of the faithful of Beṭ Svīrtā; may the Lord accept their vows and may He help us, by the prayers of the saints of the abbey, amen! Afterwards, the Muslims established that the weight of the gold given them by the Christians was ten pounds, the price (set) for their property. And they placed oaths between them and deeds were drawn up by their teachers and their judges (fuqaha² and quḍat) that they would not return to the village of Beṭ Svīrtā. And they sneaked away (?) and descended to the plain in the south; but no one would receive /XV/ them in the villages on the plain. And afterwards they regretted in their hearts what they had done. But at the time of their departure from the village of Beṭ Svīrtā, Rabān Simeon, the son of Thomas, said to his father: "It would be very good if you gave me a hundred loads of lime and a hundred households and I shall go and live in that ruined village called Estīr; for I know that before long they will regret what they have done and will come back and live in that ruin of Estīr, right next to our vineyards, and instead of reaping benefit, we shall have bitter gall and loss, and every day they will inflict sufferings on us." This speech pleased his father and the priests and the faithful of the village; and they loaded (the pack-animals with) one hundred loads of lime, and one hundred /24/ households went with him; and they completed and raised a great vaulted chamber in the above-mentioned ruin, the one which stands there still today. And from that place the Muslims sent four or five men as messengers, to take counsel and come and live in the said ruined village. And they came and found Rabān Simeon building; and he had already built a couple of houses; and they asked him if they might come and live with him, but he rejected their request. And they went and reached the land of Šam, that is Syria; and after a time they brought foot-soldiers and cavalry and destroyed Kalšat and Havnat; and they reached Beṭ Man^cem and Beṭ Svīrtā, but they achieved nothing (there). Instead, they returned with bitter gall, by the Will of God, praise to His Friends, who got them out of this village by the help of God and by the prayers of Mōr Gabriel, his prayer be with us! After the Muslims had left, Rabān Simeon came back to the village of Beṭ Svīrtā, he and those who had gone with him; and they began to tear down the mosque of the Muslims and their minaret. They took the stones from them and began to build

around their church a large courtyard with high towers; and they made it a defensible fortress (continued on fol. XXII, p. 35) with strong walls, around the church of Mōr Doḡo and Mōr Āḥo and Mōr Osyō. And they built on the church of Mōr Isaiah a strong, broad tower. And they destroyed the castle or fortress in the village which had been in the hands of the Muslims, on the southern hilltop, between the church of Mōr Šaliṯo and the church of Mōr Mary Magdalene. They also cleared away the stones of the mosque and used them to build the fortress around the church and many chambers for the sons of the village. And these late /36/ sons of the village-head Thomas built a wide and beautiful courtyard for a cemetery of nuns beside the church on the east side; and they built another courtyard beside the church with ten chambers in it, as a dwelling-place for the sister-nuns. And they built another monastery, dedicated to the Mother of God, Mary, to the east of the village, in the valley; and in it they built a tall tower for monk-recluses. And they perfected the church of Beṯ Svīrīnā with everything required in the way of holy books and a beautiful silver and gold cross with a representation /XXIII/ of Christ on it, on (the front of) a beautiful parchment Gospel-Book containing the lectionary for the whole year's cycle, with beautiful paintings inside and writing in gold for all the feasts, and on the outer cover a lovely Crucifixion (lit. Dispensation) made of gold and silver. And they built an outer chamber for the women, and in it they dug the cistern which is in the yard . . . on the floor of the fortress . . . and they completed the church. And they (caused to be) copied out two Winter Feṇqīṯōs on parchment for the whole year, and two other parchment books in the handwriting of the monks of Kafarsalṯe. And they copied for us two /37/ (complementary) antiphonal funeral-services of great richness, and three Gospel-Books, and a lovely book of the Anaphora, in the writing of Ḥabīb of Ḥabsenus; may the Lord be their pardoner! And they built many chambers in the abbey of Mōr Gabriel; and they built a large caravanseray in the village called Qurayya, on the road to the plain; and they built another big and spacious caravanseray in the village of Beṯ Bayšan and another in Beṯ . . . may God pardon them! (Anonymous note on fol. XIV, p. 21:) We did not find this in the MS, but as we have heard, this dispute and schism between the Muslims and the Syrians occurred (as follows): A certain sly Muslim committed an audacious and lascivious attack on a certain girl of the Syrians: he reached out, with his hand only, to satisfy his desire for her on the day of the Great Feast of the Resurrection. This is why these village-headmen were fired with righteous anger and expelled the Muslims from their company, (and they have stayed away) until now.

Comment: 1. Here we read about the erection, not the restoration, of the tower in the monastery of the Mother of God, which is called after Mōr Baršawmō of the Northern Mountain, the patron saint of the extreme ascetics in the Syrian Orthodox Church. This means, I think, that the occupants of that tower who are mentioned in the Book of Life all postdate 1167. It is a tower, not a pillar; yet they are all called eṣṭūnōrē, "pillar-saints, stylites" (cf. fol. LXVII, p. 110, with *Monk and Mason*, p. 105). One of them, by name Matthew, is of particular interest: He went to Jerusalem, which entitled him to be called Muqaddasī, or Muqst; though a monk, he had a wife, Badra, who was a nun, and a son, Isaiah, who became a "Rābān". Badra's sister, Šmūnī, and her mother, Rachel, were

also nuns. (See foll. XIX, XCVI and CIX, pp. 30-31, 157-8 and 180.) These family relationships were clearly established before all these people entered the religious life; yet they were by no means dissolved by the religious profession. (It may possibly be intentional that Badra's name is sometimes written Barida, "cold" - like a Daughter of the Covenant in No. 13, but it is more likely to be a slip of the pen.)

2. In an inscription of 1198/9 (Palmer 1987, pp. 89-91, with *Monk and Mason*, p. 226) Rābān Simeon, the son of Thomas, records his renovation of the church and his construction of a vault and a cistern; the inscription stands above the south yard of Mōr Doḡo at Beṯ Svīrīnā.

3. For the detachment of the right hand of Mōr Gabriel, see the *Qartmin Trilogy*, XC-XCII and *Cal. TA*, Aug. 31 ("on this day they cut off the right hand of Mōr Gabriel of Beṯ Qusṭān and took it to the *castrum* of Ḥab, because of the disease of šar'ūṯō"), with *Monk and Mason*, pp. 155 (with n. 52) and 157. The relic lent a ritual character and a divine sanction to the yearly or twice-yearly payments of "tithes", and provided the villagers with an opportunity for contact with the beneficial object at no cost to the monastery. This institution was well designed to remove resentment by compensating for material loss in spiritual kind, while at the same time ensuring regular payment.

In this connection it is worth noting that the people of Beṯ Svīrīnā were unable to provide olive-oil for the lamps which they gave to the abbey and gave money instead, with which, no doubt, the monks bought oil from a better irrigated region.

No. 4. [AD 1168/9] /fol. LVII, p. 93/ And in the year one thousand [four hundred] and eighty of the Greeks, this book and the rest of its companions, seventeen volumes in all, from the bequest of Rābān Emmanuel, the chief of scribes, was bound and renovated by the sinner Gabriel, the brother's son of Mōr John, the bishop of the Abbey, whose family is from the *castrum* of Beṯ Svīrīnā, and by his spiritual brother, Rābān Moses, the monk, from Kafarsalṯe. In this dark and trouble-filled time, when the Abbey was bereft of benefactors (yōšūfe) and readers, all the choicest and finest books which were in it had been lost; we were only able to find a few tattered, disintegrating volumes. But their zeal (*i.e.* the devotion with which the books had been produced) obliged us to renovate them as best we could, so pray for us for our Lord's sake! The Lord knows how much labour and exhaustion, how much /94/ long-suffering and tribulation they caused us; and there was no one to help us. Yet with the help of God we restored and renovated and bound all of them, although not as they had been in their pristine beauty, because most of them had been destroyed. May God recompense each one according to his deeds, amen!

Comment: See *Monk and Mason*, p. 161, with n. 102, and Palmer 1989, notes 20 and 21, with the text to which they belong.

No. 5. [AD 1295/6] /fol. XLVIII, p. 78/ In the year one thousand and six hundred and 7 of the Greeks the Tatars came to the abbey of Mōr Gabriel and destroyed the cells and broke down the gates/doors; and they took from the temple (*i.e.* the conventual church) the chain which is on the altar, the like of which is not to be found in all the world, and

the three (stone) grids /79/ from the south windows and the window-grids from the sanctuary. And the monks fled that year to the region of Mardin. And the monks sealed the entrance of the temple with stones and lime. And the Abbey was deserted for forty months, with no inhabitants at all. And the men of Mztzah came and entered the church of the Mother of God, in order to destroy the Table, that is the Throne; but a lioness came out at them and tore their clothes; and they fled and were in fear and trembling on account of this sight. And afterwards the bishop of the Abbey and the monks came and opened the entrance of the temple and settled (once more) in the Abbey. And this event occurred in the time of the first patriarch Mör Ignatius whose residence was the monastery of Mör Ananias near Mardin, and of Mör Ignatius, the bishop of the same abbey; may the Lord pardon them, amen! This deed of the accursed Tatars was perpetrated in the time of Qazan, the son of Ergun, king of the Persians, (both father and son being) sons of the King of Kings Hulahu, the Christian.

Comment: Compare Palmer 1987, p. 79 and *Monk and Mason*, p. 218.

No. 6. [AD 1296/7] /fol. CXVII, p. 194/ The pilgrim David, the carpenter, who crafted the door of the temple of Mör Gabriel in the year 1608 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon him!

Comment: Compare No. 35, below.

No. 7. [AD 1338/9] /fol. LV, p. 90/ In the year one thousand and six hundred and fifty of the Greeks, Bishop John Joshua, of Beṭ /91/ Svtrna, brought a relic of the holy Mör 'Zözyel (Azazael) from the village of Kafarzē and placed it in the church which he restored in Beṭ Svtrna; and he donated it as an inalienable possession to the sons of his brother, the priest Behnām; may the Lord pardon them! This same /LVI/ Bishop Joshua of the Abbey placed his right hand on the head of Badärzohē bar Wahib, when he was consecrated patriarch for Mardin. And this man was chief of the bishops of Tūr 'Abdin.

Comment: *Chr. Addai 1503*, fol. 195a, p. xxxviii, records that the Kurds of Tašlik came in 1415/6, taking advantage of the chaos resulting from the Mongol raids, and stole the portions of the right hand of Mör Gabriel (*cf.* Nos. 3 and 45), together with the liturgical furniture of Qartmīn Abbey; they then went on to Kafarzē (misread by Wallis Budge) and stole the icon of the martyr Mör 'Zözyel. This is one of the rare instances of an icon in the literature of the Syrian Orthodox church. *cf. Chr. 1234* 267 [2. 131]

No. 8. [AD 1393/4] /fol. LXII, p. 102/ In the year 1705 of the Greeks the infidel Tīmūr Ḥān came and destroyed all the lands of the east, including Mossul, Mardin, Hesnō d-Kifo and Ōmīd; only the castle of Hayṭam stood out against him and they could not take it by force. But he reached the monastery of the Abbey (dayrō d-'ūmrō) and sacked it. And there was a cave there, below /LXIII/ the monastery, where more than five hundred souls, including the bishop of the Abbey and forty brother-monks, were hidden.

A band of marauders led by Bar Sīqāy, of the House of Tīmūr Ḥān, made a fire at the mouth of the cave /102/ and burned all of them; and they suffocated in the smoke which they put up against the cave; and their names were: Elisha of Bōte, the monk Jacob of Fōfyat, the monk Aaron of Kafarbobō, the monk Moses of Eštarkō, a solitary ascetic, who possessed nothing at all in the world, the monk George of Kafaršama^c and the priested monk Joseph of Beṭ Svtrna; may the Lord pardon them! The monk Maṣṣūr of Qurayya, the monk Thomas of Zarḡel, the monk Baršawmō of Hedel, the priested monk Simeon of Midyat, the monks Joshua and Gabriel of 'Urdnus, the monk Daniel of Kafarzē, the monk Gabriel of Beṭ Svtrna, the monk Rabān Joshua, the monk Rabān Lazarus and the monk Rabān Addai, all of Beṭ Svtrna, the monk Rabān Joshua of Beṭ Svtrna and the monk Rabān Baršawmō; may the Lord pardon them! Muqst ("the pilgrim") Jacob and his sons, the priest Joseph and Simeon and Sergius, from Ḥazniyya; may the Lord pardon them! The monk Baršawmō of Bōte, the monk Maḥdī, the monk Qawmē of Beṭ Svtrna, the monk Aaron of Beṭ Svtrna, the monk John of Beṭ Svtrna, the monk Abraham of Fōfyat, /103/ the monk Barḥadḥšabō of Beṭ Svtrna, the monk John of Beṭ Svtrna; may the Lord pardon them! Mōryōhev the priest, from Beṭ Zrīzō, the priested monk Šlivo, the monk David of Beṭ Svtrna, the monk 'Azīz of Beṭ Svtrna, the monk Benjamin of Beṭ Svtrna, the solitary Theodore, the priested monk Šlivo, from the abbey of Mör Matthew, the priested monk Lazarus, from Ḥab, the priested monk Baršawmō, from Mztzah, the priested monk Sohdo, the priest Rabān Simeon, the priests Solomon and Ananias, the monk Abū 'l-Ḥasan. And the aged Bishop Mör John of the Abbey was suffocated with them in the cave of Bar Sīqī; may God pardon them! The priested monk Abū 'l-Ḥasan, the priest John and the priest 'Abd Allāh; these were monks from the holy abbey.

Comment: *Chr. Addai 1503*, foll. 193b.2-194a.1, pp. xxxiv-xxxv, has a similar account, except for two details: the castle which successfully resisted is named as Hesnō d-Kifo, not Hayṭam Castle; and the cave is called Barstqāy, without any indication that this was the name of a marauding captain. The bishop is also given his baptismal name, Thomas of Beṭ Svtrna, in addition to his official name, John. (A second, shorter, account is to be found in the same book on fol. 194b.1-2, p. xxxvii.) Br. Lib., Orient. 1017, fol. 2b contains the following note (see Wright 1870-72, p. 899 for the Syriac): "'Azīz of Fōfyat looked at this book when he was 75 years old, with weak eyesight and trembling hands, because I have copied down the name of the scribe, Rabān Baršawmō, the desert monk, whose family is from Fōfyat. He wrote out many books in our land of Tūr 'Abdin, to the point that teachers used to come from far and wide to examine and to . . . his books and his splendidly formed letters . . . who was suffocated in smoke, he and the bishop of the abbey and forty monks, all told, and with them many [laymen] from this region, at the command of Bar Sīqīl . . ."

In this passage from the *Book of Life* thirty-nine monks are mentioned by name, including one Rabān Baršawmō who might be from Fōfyat.

No. 9. [AD 1420/1] /fol. CVIII, p. 180/ The priest Addai of Beṭ Svtrna, the son of Rabān George, died on the first of December in the year 1732 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon him and his children!

No. 10. [AD 1422] /fol. CVIII, p. 179/ The deacon, Rabān Malkē of Bēt Svīrīnā, the son of the priest Addai, nicknamed Šafōnō, died in the year 1733 of the Greeks, on the first of April, the month of flowers; may the Lord pardon them!

No. 11. [AD 1422] /fol. CXXI, p. 202/ Bishop Cyriac of the Abbey, from the house of TWMM' of Bēt Svīrīnā, died in the year 1733 of the Greeks in the month of August.

No. 12. [AD 1424/5] /fol. IX, p. 15/ The priest Isaiah of Bēt Svīrīnā, the son of Rabān Denḥō of Bēt Ġaḡīm - may the Lord pardon them! Malfono Sōfōq, who taught seven schools of boys, some of whom (later became) bishops, and others priests and deacons; and he died in the year 1736 of the Greeks; and his sons, the priest Denḥō and the priest Joshua, a learned monk and teacher, and their mother, Daughter of the Covenant Badra; may the Lord pardon them!

No. 13. [AD 1424/5] /fol. XVI, p. 25/ The priest Isaiah of Bēt Svīrīnā, Universal Teacher and educator of boys, the son of Rabān Denḥō, and his wife, Daughter of the Covenant Barida (sic, but compare No. 12), and their sons, the priest Denḥō and the priest Joshua, a monk, and Baršawmō, a deacon; the priest Isaiah, their father, died in the year 1736 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon them, amen! The priest Addai, the son of Rabān George, the son-in-law of the late priest Isaiah, and his mother, Mary, and his wife, Daughter of the Covenant Mary, and his sons, the priest Malkē and the priest George, a monk, and Paul, a monk, who died in Jerusalem; and the priest Addai, a sinner, their son, and his sons, the priest Qawmē and his brother, the deacon Isaiah, and the deacon Malkē and the deacon Denḥō and their sons, Joshua and George; may the Lord preserve their lives and those of their parents, and may He pardon /26/ their departed relatives, yea and amen! Pray for my mother, Daughter of the Covenant Rachel, and for my yoke-mate and wife, Daughter of the Covenant Susan, who donated this volume of the book of life to the church of Mōr Dōdō out of (the earnings from) her own labour; may the Lord be forgivingly disposed to them!

No. 14. [AD 1424/5] /fol. LVIII, p. 95/ . . . The priest John of Bēt SWP', the priest Denḥō, the son of the priest Isaiah, the priest John, the son of Naṣr, the priest Bossus - four priests from Bēt Svīrīnā, who were ordained on one day and who fell ill on one day and who died on one day of the disease šar'ūto; may the Lord give rest to their souls! They died in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six of the Greeks; and their spiritual father died in the same year, before them, the priest Isaiah of Bēt Svīrīnā; may God pardon them! (continued in No. 15)

No. 15. [AD 1431/2] /fol. LVIII, p. 95/ And their companion, the priest Joshua of Bēt Svīrīnā, died in the year 1743 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon them, amen!

No. 16. [AD 1431/2] /fol. CXXI, p. 202/ Mōr John, who is Bishop Addai from Arbō, who died in the year 1743 of the Greeks.

No. 17. [Before AD 1442/3] /fol. LVII, p. 94/ My Lord, make a good commemoration and an acceptable memorial in front of Your High Bēma for our father the thrice-blessed bishop Mōr Philoxenos of the holy abbey of Qartmīn, who is Bishop Qawmē of Bēt Svīrīnā, because he donated /LVIII/ one hundred and fifty zūzē, the cost of a bronze cauldron (?) for Mōr Gabriel; and he donated a door for the Dome of the Egyptians, and he is the bishop of the abbey by the subsistence of his body (?), for the sake of his soul and of the souls of his parents, his father, the village-head Ġafal, and his mother, Ġaliya, and his brothers, Simeon (and) Addai, and his brother's son, Joshua, and his sister Rūmiyya, so that they might have a part in the offering of sacrifices and prayers and services and in the *Book of Life* which is in this holy abbey. May his prayer be with us, amen!

Comment: Qawmē was transferred to the see of Haḡ by 1442/3 (see Palmer 1987, p. 136) and became patriarch of Tūr 'Abdīn in 1445/6 (see *Chr. Gregory III*, col. 819). On the last part of the prayer, see the Introduction.

No. 18. [AD 1451/2] /fol. L, p. 82/ And in the year 1763 of the Greeks, when Bishop George went to the Holy City (sc. Jerusalem) for the first time, he had with him his spiritual father, the priested monk Joshua, the son of the priest Isaiah, and his sister's sons, the priested monk George and Rabān Paul /83/ the monk. In that year the Muslims arose and took our church of Mōr Thomas and made it into a mosque; (this church had been a part) of the upper monastery (and they sequestered it) from the tenancy of that accursed monk Baršawmō, the son of Ephrem, who became a son of Hagar (i.e. a Muslim). This man gave our father bishop and his companions a great deal of trouble that year; and when Bishop George arrived, the Syrians were left without a church. Afterwards Patriarch Ḥalaf of Mardīn went and bought a church for us from the Copts, a fine church with a monastery in it, under the invocation of the Mother of God, Mary, in the centre of the city. And Patriarch John bar Šayallah bought another courtyard beside this church from the Muslims and donated it to the monastery of the Mother of God; may the Lord pardon him and his departed relatives. [. . .] in the vicinity of that courtyard which Bishop George bought, next to the monastery of the Mother of God, Mary; because the Syrians of the church of the Mother of God, Mary, told us that it was the house of Simon, chief of the Apostles; and when Simon escaped from prison and came to knock at the door of his house, and his daughter (sic) Rhoda came out and opened it; and he said to her, "I /84/ have escaped from the hands of Herod, out of prison. Now, all of you, hide!" (Acts 12, more or less!).

Comment: L. John bar Šayallah, fol. 84a, tells how John visited Jerusalem with the patriarch Ḥalaf at some date after 1468 and found that the church of St Thomas had been sequestered; they went on together to Egypt and requested the Coptic patriarch for permission to buy the church of the Mother of God in Jerusalem. Between 1474 (fol. 86a-b), when he was made bishop of Amida, and about 1485, John and the patriarch Ḥalaf again went to Jerusalem and to Egypt; this time the sale was completed and the

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deeds were signed and sealed by prominent Moslem judges and teachers (cf. No. 3 above). They also bought some houses and included them in the courtyard of the church to provide accommodation for poor pilgrims (cf. No. 24 below). The church was a welcome relief to the Syrians in Jerusalem, who had been reduced to scuttling about at night from house to house with their liturgical books.

No. 19. [AD 1456/7] /fol. CXXI, p. 202/ Bishop Baršawmō from Arbō, of the house of Zaqqāqī, died in the year 1768.

No. 20. [AD 1464/5] /fol. CXXI, p. 202/ Also Bishop Malke, his brother's son, died in the year 1776 of the Greeks.

No. 21. [AD 1473/4] /fol. XXV, p. 40/ And in the year 1785 of the Greeks the priest Addai, the carpenter, the son of Isaiāh, raised and completed the wooden dome (ciborium) above the Throne (altar), and he adorned it beautifully with (carved and painted?) writing.

Comment: See *Chr. Addai 1503*, fol. 198b.1, p. xlvii, at the end of the report discussed in the note on 22.

No. 22. [AD 1476/7] /fol. XXV, p. 39/ The nun Šahlā and the nun Elizabeth, the daughter of Našr, and also Peter, her brother's son, donated a fine black-and-white striped vestment to the church of Mōr Dōdō for the sake of the souls of their late departed relatives, his father Baršawmō, the son of Našr, and his paternal uncle, the priest John, and his son, John, /40/ who was killed when the church was being restored; and he provided funds and erected the sculpted wood above the wall of the great sanctuary; the work was executed by the craftsman-priest Addai, the carpenter, and the expenses and the wood were provided by the said Peter, in the year 1788 of the Greeks.

Comment: *Chr. Addai 1503*, fol. 198a.1-b.1, pp. xlv-xlvii, tells of the destruction and rebuilding of the church of Mōr Dōdō under the year 1474; there was a big accident, in which fifteen men and two monks and a priest were killed. When the dust cleared, the reliquaries of Mōr Dōdō, Mōr Osyō and Mōr Āho stood revealed in the sanctuary wall. When it was realized that no one at Beṭ Svīrīnā knew the story of Mōr Dōdō's life, it was discovered by asking certain Nestorian monks that the story was known at a monastery in Tabrtz, at Sīdūs, the birthplace of Dōdō. One of the monks of Beṭ Svīrīnā undertook the journey and brought back the text (in a rewritten, anti-Nestorian form!). It is briefly summarized on fol. II, p. 2 of the *Book of Life*: "Mōr Dōdō of Sīdūs, who is buried in Beṭ Svīrīnā, and whose body came in the hands of Mōr Isaac their maternal uncle's son; twenty years after it had been buried in the church of Tagrt, /3/ his body was brought to Beṭ Svīrīnā; and he raised a man from the dead on the day of his entry into the village and he became a great joy to all the faithful." A MS in Kirchartd belonging to the Demir family contains the story of Mōr Dōdō of Sīdūs (d. AD 619) and two subsequent tales: 1) how his body was brought to Espes, to the monastery in the Valley of Gehenna which is

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under his invocation; and 2) (pages 286f) how it was brought from Espes to Tūr ʿAbdīn and to Beṭ Svīrīnā, where a church was built under his invocation, and how it was the cause of miracles there (cf. *Monk and Mason*, p. 31-2, with n. 74). Interesting in connection with the theme of the cultural boundary between Roman Tūr ʿAbdīn and Persia is the clear indication in this MS that Tūr ʿAbdīn was coterminous with the non-Nestorian territory on the Roman side of the border, and that Espes/Hespist lay on the Persian, Nestorian side of that border.

No. 23. [AD 1481/2] /fol. CXII, p. 186/ The priest Joshua and his wife and his sons, the priest Mubarak and Simeon and Hawšab, his brother, who died in the year 1793 of the Greeks of the disease of šarʿuṭō, together with eighty-five souls of the village of Fofyaṭ who died in that year; may the Lord pardon them!

No. 24. [AD 1489/90] /fol. L, p. 81/ And in the year 1801 of the Greeks, the bishop of the abbey, George, of Beṭ Svīrīnā, went with his disciple Stephen and bought a fine, large courtyard in the Holy City (sc. Jerusalem) from the Muslims for two hundred /82/ golden dīnārs; and they donated it to the monastery of the Mother of God, of the Syrians, because it was near the monastery. It contained four fine rooms and a large upper room above them, and a water-cistern. (It was intended) as accommodation for the pilgrims who come to obtain a blessing from the Holy Sepulchre and from the Holy Places in which our Lord and His Holy Disciples dwelt. And he donated it for the souls of his departed relatives; may God pardon them! This same Bishop George provided funds for making a big silver cross, admirably fine, for the abbey of Mōr Gabriel, out of his own purse, for his soul and for those of his late parents. And the faithful of Beṭ Svīrīnā provided funds for the donation of the fine curtain across the entrance to the sanctuary of Mōr Gabriel at the cost of twenty-five golden ašraft (Arabic: "ducats"). And they made this donation to the abbey for the sake of their souls and for those of their departed relatives; may God pardon them!

Comment: See the note on No. 18, above. *Chr. Addai 1503*, fol. 200a.1-2, p. 1, has a brief account of Bishop George's visit to Jerusalem in 1490.

No. 25. [AD 1491/2] /fol. CXXI, p. 202/ And Bishop Gabriel the son of Rabān Baršawmō of Arbō, the son of their paternal uncle, died in the year 1803.

No. 26. [AD 1491/2] /fol. CV, p. 174/ Rabān Joshua of Beṭ Svīrīnā, a monk, the son of the priest Moses, who died in the city of Hama; may the Lord pardon them! The priest Gabriel, the son of Joshua Bardʿanī, of Beṭ Svīrīnā; this man died in Damascus; may the Lord pardon them! Rabān Šabō, the priested monk, of Šalāh, our brother, died in Damascus; this was the son of Iwāns. In the year 1803 these three brothers died on our way back from Jerusalem, and we buried them.

Comment: *Chr. Addai 1503* closes with an account of the author's journey, in which the circumstances of these three deaths are told (foll. 200a.2- 201a.2, pp. l-iii).

No. 27. [AD 1491/2] /fol. XCV, p. 156/ [. . .] The priest Gabriel of Beṭ Svīrṇā died /157/ at Damascus in the year 1803 on our way back from Jerusalem. (cf. No. 26)

No. 28. [AD 1495/6] /fol. CVI, p. 176/ The unimportant Timothy, bishop of the castle of Ziyād (Ḥarput, in Anzītene), was present in the abbey of Qartmīn in the year 1807 of the Greeks. Pray for him!

No. 29. [AD 1496/7] /fol. CVI, p. 174/ Rabān Baršawmō of Fofyat, the priest, the son of Zanburō /175/ taught in a school at the city of Ḥomṣ; he died in the year 1808 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon him!

No. 30. [AD 1501/2] /fol. CXIX, p. 198/ The priested monk Joshua and his son, the priested monk John, died in the year 1813 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon them, amen!

No. 31. [AD 1501/2] /fol. CXXIV, p. 207/ [. . . (a list of names)] died of the disease of šarʿuṭō in the year 1813 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon them!

No. 32. [AD 1501/2] /fol. XXIV, p. 38/ And in the year 1813 of the Greeks the sons of Beṭ Svīrṇā took counsel together and arose and went to the abbey of Mōr Gabriel, they and their children and their womenfolk, and the priests with the village-headmen; and they tiled the great and spacious temple (i.e. the conventual church) of Mōr Gabriel, which is in the middle of the abbey, because much water had been coming into it in the winter. (That was) on the first of June; and in a week of days they had finished tiling both the east and the west slopes (of the roof). And so the work was finished by the help of God and by the prayers of Mōr Samuel and Mōr Gabriel; may the Lord help us by their prayers, yea and amen! This was the cause of great joy to our Father Bishop Stephen and to the monks, because the monks were not capable of doing the work themselves, and had been seeking the wherewithal to pay for such an expensive job. But zeal and love, instilled by the saints of the Abbey, took hold of the sons of Beṭ Svīrṇā, /39/ as we have told, for the sake of the souls of their departed relatives and for the preservation of the life of their children; they also <brought> food and drink with them from their homes. And they came rejoicing and exultant, because God had answered their litanies and had caused the fatal epidemic to pass away from them.

Comment: For a picture of the tiled roof of this church in 1906, see Sykes (1915, facing page 356); the whole episode is comparable with the building of the monastery of Theodotos, on the mountainside above that of Mōr Ābāy, at Qelet (L. *Theodotos*, fol. 67a.1, *ad init.*): "And God fulfilled his heart's desire, and the people came unsummoned and flocked together to build it; and they came with bread and with wine, and worked in a spirit of exultation." In that case, however, the people had not, like the "sons of Beṭ Svīrṇā", just been delivered from the plague. It is probably due to the fragmented nature of the transmission that the writer appears to take for granted at the outset the

reason for this communal action on the part of the village; this may have been indicated by a passage connecting No. 31 with No. 32. This passage is the earliest which refers to the conventual church as that "of Mōr Gabriel", although this may be a shorthand for "of the monastery of Mōr Gabriel". Just as in the *Qartmīn Trilogy* (LXI.2-3), the church is said to be "in the middle of the Abbey". It is interesting that Mōr Simeon, who in the past had often been named exclusively as patron of Qartmīn Abbey (see *Monk and Mason*, p. 73 n. 2), is here forgotten. Bishop Stephen of Qartmīn reigned from 1521 to 1539, according to Baršawm (1964), p. 76 (Syr.), in spite of p. 96, and this agrees with p. 70, where we find the dates of the patriarch Joshua III of ʿTur ʿAbdīn, who consecrated him (references in the Arabic translation: pp. 254, 260-1, 279-80). However, Nos. 30, above, and 32, below, confirm the date AG 1813. Too little is known about Baršawm's source here to give it credit against these three apparently independent entries in the *Book of Life*, especially since Dolabani (1959, p. 198) seems very well informed about Stephen's ordination as bishop, which took place "on Sunday the fifth of January, AD 1496, in the church of Beṭ Svīrṇā, which is in the region of Hayṭam." 5.1.1496 was not a Sunday, however, though 5.1.1495 was.

No. 33. [AD 1501/2] /fol. XIII, p. 21/ In the year 1813 of the Greeks the following provided funds for and helped to reconstruct the church of Mōr Cyriac in the eastern part of the village, which had been totally ruined, and for the building of a beautiful temple dedicated to the martyr Sergius and to Mōr Bacchus, for the sake of their souls and of those of their departed relatives, and for the preservation of the lives of their children: The priests of Beṭ Svīrṇā and our Father, Bishop Stephen, and the village-headmen Rabān ʿAzz and Rabān Joshua, and Village-head Gabriel and Village-head Enoch and Village-head Ḥannā and Village-head Qawmē and all the faithful, great and small, of Beṭ Svīrṇā. May God deliver them from the sword and from slavery and from famine and from fatal epidemics, by the prayer of the Mother of God, Mary, and of all the saints, amen and amen!

Comment: This work is represented by Baršawm (1964, p. 96) as a reciprocal gesture on the part of Bishop Stephen towards the village of Beṭ Svīrṇā.

No. 34. [AD 1723/4] /fol. CVI, p. 174/ Bishop ʿIsa from Mossul, the Keeper of the Apostolic Throne of St John the Evangelist at Mardīn, the occupant of which is the patriarch Šukrallah of Mardīn, who lived in the church at Ōmīd, came here to visit us in the year 2035 of the Greeks; pray for us!

No. 35. [c. AD 1724-34] /fol. CX, p. 181/ George, the son of Simeon, donated a mulberry tree for the door of the temple /182/ of Mōr Gabriel, and Tīmar, his wife, and Rabān Gabriel, his son; may the Lord pardon them! Šlvo and his wife Zīna and Rabān Saʿdō, the carpenter, their son, who made the door of the temple of Mōr Gabriel; may the Lord pardon them! [. . .] The priest Isaiah of Beṭ Svīrṇā and his wife, Daughter of the Covenant Badra, and his sons, the priest Denḥō and the priested monk Joshua and

Baršawmō; the priest Isaiah died in the year 1736 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon them! Rabān Addai of Fōfyāṭ was killed in the year 1745 of the Greeks.

Comment: Compare No. 6.

No. 36. [AD 1732/3] /fol. LXXXVIII, p. 144/ Let me tell you, my beloved brethren, about this perverse age of ours and about the ordeals and prodigies that happened in it. When the 'LYYN came and took from us three flocks (?) of goats and killed the priest 'Azar, /145/ the son of the priest Joshua of Bēṭ Qammūqō, the chief and the governor of our village (remembered among the just and the righteous, amen!); and the people of Havtaḥ (HBTKY) went and killed two men of the 'LYYN; and they arose and went to Ḥamza Bag in Mōrbōbō; and that evil man arose and gathered seven thousand men from the whole of their territory, four thousand GWHŠKY and three thousand 'LYYN; and they came to our country and burned ten villages; and they reached the church of Bēṭ Debe and burned in it three hundred and fifty souls, men, women and children from Šaliym. These things happened in the year 2044 of the Greeks.

No. 37. [AD 1748/9] /fol. XCIII, p. 153/ Bishop Jacob, from Bēṭ Svīrtā, was ordained on the second Sunday of the Dispensation, in the year 2060 of the Greeks, by the Maphrian Mōr Basil Denḥō of 'Urdnus.

No. 38. [AD 1749/50] /fol. LXXXVI, p. 140-1/ Bishop Jacob from Bēṭ Svīrtā examined this copy of the volume of the *Book of Life* in the year 2061 of the Greeks.

No. 39. [AD 1794/5] /fol. XCVIII, p. 161/ In the year 2106 of the Greeks the monk Ġarīb died, who was the steward of the church of Mōr Dōḏō; and he left in the church his cassocks with a girdle, which was a silver belt; and with the funds raised from it a dome was made, with the help of all the people of Bēṭ Svīrtā; may the Lord pardon them, amen!

Comment: Compare No. 21 (a wooden dome over an altar).

No. 40. [AD 1852/3] /fol. LXXXIII, p. 135/ Pray for Mark, who copied out the Gospel-Book for the monastery of Mōr Gabriel and who bound another Gospel-Book (belonging to the monastery) of Mōr Gabriel - may the Lord pardon him! - in the year 2164 of the Greeks.

No. 41. [undated] /fol. I, p. 1/ The faithful king Theodosius II and his father, king Arcadius, the brother of Honorius the faithful solitary and king, who ate no meat and drank no wine all the days of his life and never married. Also, their father, Theodosius I, along with Constantine, the son of Helena; and Anastasius, that just king, all of whom in their time gave us holy canons and laws.

Comment: There is no reference to the buildings funded by these emperors at Qartmīn Abbey (see *Monk and Mason*, chapters 2 and 4). *Cal. TA* and *Chr. Qartmīn 819* also omit to mention these benefactions. Does the silence of these two sources weigh heavily against the only witness to them, the insecurely dated and partially legendary *Qartmīn Trilogy*? Against this argument from silence we may note that the prominence given to Theodosius II, Arcadius, Honorius and Anastasius in No. 41 and in *Cal. TA* is not explained by the curious statement that they "gave us holy canons and laws".

No. 42. [A list of saints, here reduced to essentials] /foll. I - VI, pp. 1 - 9/ Longinus, spiritual father of Bossus; Bossus; Susan, sister of Bossus; Stephen the deacon, who converted Bossus; Romana; John (A) (A = Company of Awgn); Awgn (A); Malke, sister's son of Awgn (A); Elisha, friend of Malke (A); Isaiah of Aleppo (A); Qōyūmō (A); John the Arab (A); Šaltō of Mount Izlō (A); Father Salarō and his mother (A); Elizabeth (A); Jacob of Nisibis (A); Solomon of Arkāḥ in *Leg. Malke*; Euṭal; Ananias, the son of NYQYN'; John; Ġawōn; Denis; Simeon; Abraham; John Christopher; Tūvōnō; Baršawmō, bishop of Kafartūtō; Lucian the martyr; Āḥō (I), of the monastery of Fnōt; Abraham, companion of Āḥō (I); Hēwōrō, disciple of Āḥō (I); George; Daniel; Daniel of Aglōš; Eulogius 'RH'/'RYY'; Abba Daniel of Skete; Daniel of the Beetles; Mīnō (Menas); Martūtō; Moses; Kosmas and Damianus; Šmūnō and Ġurtyō; Ḥabīb, the confessor, of Edessa; Mīnō (Menas), martyr; Āḥō (II), of the monastery near Fanek Castle; John, brother of Āḥō (II) (also John of Anḡel, in Arzon); John of Kfōnē; Dīmet; Dōḏō; Isaac, Dōḏō's maternal uncle's son; Āḥō; Osyō; Isaiah; Sergius and Bacchus, martyrs; George, martyr; Šmūnī and her seven sons; Eleazar, spiritual teacher of Šmūnī's sons; Thomas the Apostle; Qawmē; Daniel the Wise; Mary Magdalene; Elijah; Šaltō; John the Baptist; Barbara; Juliana, spiritual sister of Barbara; Baršawmō, the Chief of the Mourners; Aḡsnōyō; Ḥabīb, the martyr; Azazael the Glorious; Pinḡes; Palladius (PLD); Zōḡe (Nicholas), the bishop of Myra; Simeon the Stylite; Abḡay, bishop of Nicaea; Šlivo; Moses; Job; Moses; Elijah; Barḡaḡbšābō; Melchizedek; Thomas; Jacob; Solomon; Ḥabīb; Melchizedek; Denḥō; Zechariah; Thomas; Cyriac; Zvīnō; Moses; Šem Tamīm; Denis the Aramaean; Peter; Denḥō; Daniel of Mōrbōbō; Moses; Baršawmō; Moses the stylite; the 12,000 blessed ones of Qartmīn; John the Bedouin; the eight hundred Egyptians and their two disciples; Aggai; Rābōlō, the bishop of Edessa; Aaron of Srūḡ; Elijah of Šalāḡ; Nicodemus; John Noḡar; John, the son of Malke; John, the son of Euphemianus; John, the Easterner; Sarah, sister of John the Easterner; John, the son of Zebedee; John of the Cliff; John of the Cistern; John the Arab; John the Baptist; John the Compassionate, patriarch of Alexandria; John Sa'ōrō; John of KMWL; Simeon Salos; John, spiritual brother of Simeon Salos; John, the patriarch of Constantinople; Ananias, Azarias and Mishael; John of Daylam; Abraham of Kaškār; Abraham of Jerusalem; Talyō of Bēṭ Soḡde; Šavṭay; Theodotos; Bustnō; Qardag; Zvīnō; Elisha; Thomas the Egyptian; Abba Micah the Humble; The Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia; Abba Mark; Abba Gavrūnō; Abraham the Roman (or "the soldier"); Cyriac and his mother Julitta; The Martyrs of Naḡrān; Lazarus; Bābāy of Nisibis; John of Anḡel, in Arzōn; John the Arab; Andrew; Simeon, the Palestinian; Behnām; Sarah, sister of Behnām; the forty companions of Behnām, martyrs; Bossus;

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Susan, sister of Bossus; Longinus, spiritual teacher of Bossus; Abhay and his friends; Gabralohō and his 100,000 companions; Jacob, the Recluse and the Egyptian; Jacob the Teacher; Jacob the Dissected; Ephrem the Teacher; Isaac, disciple of Ephrem; Addai the Apostle; Theodore; Agripas; Lawrence with his companions.

Comment: Compare the check-list of church-dedications in Tūr ʿAbdīn in *Monk and Mason*, p. 136 n. 139, *Cal. TA* and the contents of hagiographical collections from the area, such as Istanbul Yeni 196 and Sachau 221, for which see the Prolegomena to the edition of the *Qartmīn Trilogy*, above.

No. 43. [undated] /fol. VI, p. 9/ Mōr Samuel the first abbot of the holy abbey of Qartmīn and Mōr Simeon his disciple from Qartmīn, who used to bring his master water in a basket made of twigs. Abba Cyrus (QWRYS), Abba Abraham and Mōr John and Mōr Stephen, Mōr Marōn with Mōr John and Mōr Simeon and Mōr ʿAbay, Mōr Simeon and Mōr Zuṯō. And Mōr Daniel, abbot and first bishop who resided in the holy abbey of Qartmīn. Mōr Severus and Mōr Athanasius, Mōr George, Mōr Sergius the abbot (*sic*) /10/ of Tūr ʿAbdīn, Mōr Gabriel, bishop of the holy abbey, from Qusṭay village in the land of Hah, and Mōr Simeon of the Olives, who was resurrected after being trodden underfoot in the crush of people on the day of the burial of Mōr Gabriel, Mōr Athanasius, the archbishop, and Mōr Abraham, Mōr Gregory, Mōr Qusṭay and Mōr John, Mōr Stephen, the abbot of the monastery of solitaires in this mountain of ours, Mōr Elijah the Good, Mōr Severus, Mōr Samuel and Mōr Qusṭay, Mōr Aaron and Mōr Isaac, Mōr Joshua, the abbot of the House of Mōr Hvišo, Mōr Cyril, Mōr Iwāns, Mōr Moses, Mōr Ignatius, Mōr Moses of the Hvišo (*sc.* monastery?). Mōr Moses of Kfōne and Mōr John of Tagrīt, Samuel, Solomon, Lazarus, Mōr Michael, Mōr Abel the first stylite who arose in the monastery of the abbey, which was marked out by the angels. Mōr Cyriac the Elder, Daniel, Tuṯael, Jacob the Elder, George, Gabriel, Sergius, Mōr Daniel, /VII/ Mōr Thomas, Stephen, /11/ Sergius, with Joshua, Abraham, Abel, Michael, Abraham, Mōr ʿAḥdēmeh. Abraham, Elijah, Sergius, Daniel, Andrew, John the Younger, Simeon, Heraklius, Mōr Job, Constantine, John, Sergius, Gabriel, Daniel, Jovinian ...

Comment: Compare section 12 of the *Life of Samuel* and Barṣawm (1964), pp. 85-6.

No. 44. [undated] /fol. LXVII, p. 101/ Again we pray for the fair souls of the stylites of this holy abbey; may the Lord involve us in their prayers, amen! Abel the stylite, Cyrus the Old, Matthew, Daniel the stylite, John, Euthal, Jacob the Old, Gabriel, George, Sergius, Daniel; may the Lord pardon us by their prayers, amen!

Comment: Note the differences from my quotation of this passage in *Monk and Mason*, p. 77 n. 30 (Euthal may be a name in its own right - *cf.* No. 42, the 17th name - but Tuṯael the stylite is one of the holy men of Qartmīn Abbey in the *Qartmīn Trilogy*, XXII.9; the second Daniel is missing from my quotation). On Abel the stylite *cf.* No. 43.

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The word "stylite" appears to cover some other kinds of recluses, too (*cf.* note on No. 3, above).

No. 45. [undated] /fol. IX, p. 15/ And the son-in-law of the priest /X/ Isaiah, the priest Addai, the son of Rabān George; may the Lord pardon them! And his sons, the priest Malke and the priest George, a monk, and Rabān Paul, a monk; may God pardon them! And their mother, Daughter of the Covenant Mary, the daughter of the late priest Isaiah, and the sons of her sons, the priest Addai, the son of the priest Malke, and his sons, the priest Qawme, Rabān Isaiah and Rabān Malke; may the Lord pardon them! They provided funds and copied out this book full of life (or "full of the living") /16/ for the sake of their souls and of those of their late relatives, amen!

No. 46. [undated; before 1496? (*cf.* Introduction, Context)] /fol. XLV, p. 74/ Some monks from Hesnō, who were staying in the monastery, opened up the tomb in which the body of our Father Abbas and (*sic*) Mōr Gabriel, the bishop, and they took out the holy body; and the whole body was preserved and it had not been corrupted /75/, except for his hands and his feet and his beard and his skin, although it was many years since he had died. And those monks took off all the clothes that were on him and threw them down; and they went out by night from the abbey, those monks from the New Monastery of Hesnō (dayrō d-Hesnō Ḥdato). God sent his wrath against them, because they had stolen the holy body, and he aroused the Kurds and gave them dominion over them; and they killed one monk of their number near the village of Qartmīn. When we heard of this unobserved occurrence from the people of Qartmīn, we left the Abbey and arrived at the village of Qartmīn, seven brother-monks and forty priest(ed monk)s; and we saw the holy body and we saw the dead man, who had been killed because he had been one of those ten monks; and he had been a priest. As for his companions, who had stolen the holy body, they got a beating and their bodies were weakened, so they left their companion dead. We, however, took the dead man and put him on a bier and took him to the Abbey, where we placed him in the temple; then we placed the holy body of Mōr Gabriel on a burial-bench in the House of Saints. ... of the robber-monks.

No. 47. [The priest Addai's colophon, written, according to Barṣawm, in 1496] /fol. CXXV, p. 208/ Of your kindness, discerning brother, who meet with this volume of the *Book of Life*, say a prayer of atonement for the weak Addai who penned it and for his parents, amen!

No. 48. [The priest George's colophon, written in 1959] /fol. CXXVI, p. 208/ It is completed, by the strength of God (praise to Him for ever!), /209/ according to the exemplar shown to us by Mōr Iwāns Ephrem, bishop of Tūr ʿAbdīn, who took part in the election made by the assembled Fathers in the patriarchal *triclinium* at three o'clock of the afternoon on Tuesday, 14 October, AD 1957, in the *triclinium* of the patriarchate at Homs.

No. 49. [There follows a list of the bishops of the Syrian Orthodox Church at that date and an account of the patriarchal election; then the colophon of the scribe, Ken'an, the son of Denho and Šmūnī, of Fōfyā, dated 1986, and a list of the bishops of Midyat (continued up to the present), from the history of Severus Ephrem, metropolitan of Syria and Lebanon, written in 1924.]

No. 50. [Like the *Book of Life* of Aleppo, our MS contained lists of the three Ecumenical Councils, certain Church Fathers and the Patriarchs of Antioch recognized by the Syrian Orthodox, a list of the Maphrians of the East and certain bishop-lists; the lists are now fragmented and incomplete (fol. II, p. 3 - fol. III, p. 5; fol. VII, p. 11 - fol. XII, p. 19; fol. XXXIV, p. 55 - fol. XXXVI, p. 58). In bringing the list of patriarchs up to his own time, the compiler, Addai of Beṭ Svirīnā (d. c.1503) also mentioned "Ignatii" in Šālāh, i.e. the patriarchs of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, and one rival patriarch of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. This part of the compilation has a local flavour; but it is surprising that a native of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn anathematized Athanasius Sandlōyo and failed to mention that two other legitimate patriarchs were Qartminites. On fol. III, p. 5 is a passage concerning Bishop John, the calligrapher, and his famous nephews Emmanuel and John Nihē, which seems to have a Svirinite flavour; this may be an echo of a longer report in the original Qartmīn *Book of Life* (see Palmer 1986, p. 57). The list of Maphrians is broken off after the sixty-fifth, Athanasius Abraham; but six more Maphrians are mentioned in other contexts.]

No. 51. The final colophon: /p. 217/ This was copied from the MS in the library of the abbey of Mōr Gabriel, which was penned in the year AD 1959 for the late Bishop Iwāns Ephrem of Bōtē, by his disciple, the priest George of Mōrbōbō, the son of Šābō Gabrē of Kafarzē, according to the exemplar of Beṭ Svirīnā, from which Mōr Iwāns copied it; he did not note in which year (it was written), because he did not see it.

END

[This photograph has been sent uncopied to the publisher.]

Fig. 7: THE CAVE OF BARSĪQAY, NEAR THE ABBEY OF QARTMĪN, WHERE LOCAL PEOPLE TOOK REFUGE FROM THE MONGOLS IN VAIN (No. 8, A.D. 1395)

End of the Narrative Sections of the Book of Life

End of the Microfiche Supplement